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THE LOUISIANA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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RICHARD HENRY WILDE IN NEW ORLEANS and the Establishment of the University of Louisiana¹

[By]

AUBREY STARKE

[Centralia, Illinois]

WHEN Richard Henry Wilde, author of the famous poem "My Life is Like the Summer Rose," arrived in New Orleans in 1844 to take up there the practice of law, he had already achieved success as a lawyer and won fame as a member of Congress and as a poet-scholar that assured him a welcome and augured a successful career in his new home. His name was known in Europe, where he had lately spent five happy years, and the foreign atmosphere of New Orleans may have been a factor in the decision to leave Augusta, Georgia, and make his home there.

The facts of his life previous to 1844 may be summarized briefly. He was born in Dublin, Ireland, September 24, 1789, but brought to Baltimore, Maryland, by his parents in 1797. His father, Richard Wilde, was a wholesale hardware merchant and iron-monger, whose political activity in behalf of Irish freedom made residence out of Ireland more than desirable. His mother, Mary Newitt Wilde, was the daughter of Tory refugees from the American colonies, a woman of culture and of talent who was chiefly responsible for the early education of her son and who herself set him the example of poetic composition. Loss

¹ This article was prepared from scant and contradictory evidence concerning Wilde's last years by one who, working at a distance from New Orleans, has not been able to examine the records of Wilde's suits before the Louisiana bar or other local records. It is not designed as a final statement on the questions involved but to correct misstatements frequently made and to invite, by calling attention to Wilde, contribution of further information pertaining to him. The author has in preparation a life of Wilde, and a volume of his collected poetry.

of fortune in Ireland and the death of Mr. Wilde caused Mrs. Wilde to remove with her several children—at least four boys and three girls—to Augusta, where she established a dry-goods store in which Richard Henry Wilde, the eldest of her children, clerked.

While clerking in the store, young Wilde studied law from borrowed law books and prepared for oratory as a member of a dramatic club which he organized. He was admitted to the bar at the March, 1809, term of the Greene County Superior Court, before he was of legal age. Two years later he was elected Solicitor General of the Superior Court of his home county of Richmond, and became by virtue of that office Attorney General of Georgia, 1811-1813. In 1814 he was elected representative from Georgia and served as a member of the 14th Congress of the United States, March 4, 1815-March 3, 1817. He was defeated for reelection to the 15th Congress, and was not again a candidate for office until 1824.

On February 9, 1819,² Wilde was married to Mrs. Caroline S. Buckle of Augusta, a widow with a daughter then about eight or nine years old. Three sons are known to have been born to the Wildes, of whom one died in infancy. The other two lived after their father's death in New Orleans, where they also practiced law. These were William Cumming Wilde and John Patterson Wilde—the latter named for their father's Baltimore friend, John Patterson, the brother of the famous Betsy Patterson Bonaparte. Mrs. Caroline Buckle Wilde died in 1827.

Like many gentlemen and most lawyers of his day, especially in the South, Wilde was not averse to being known as a dilettante in letters, although his famous poem, "My Life is Like the Summer Rose," written about 1814, was published without Wilde's consent and against his wishes (about 1819). Indeed, it was never openly claimed by him until absurd charges of plagiarism had angered him into stating his authorship of it, but this was because that poem held associations connected with the death in a duel of his brother James Wilde, and the subsequent death—reputedly from grief—of his mother, both in 1815. Wilde had however submitted a poem in a competition in 1815 and won the prize—"The Ocean Fight," in commemoration of our naval vic-

² Mrs. John F. Monroe of Athens, Ga., a patient investigator of Wilde's career, has found the notice of his marriage in the *Augusta Chronicle* of February 13, 1819. The date usually given (1818), even by his own sons, must therefore be wrong.

tories in the war of 1812, was published in *The Port Folio* of Philadelphia, in August, 1815³—and from then on seems to have taken as much interest in the unremunerative practice of poetry as in the for him richly rewarding practice of law.

Wilde was elected to fill a vacancy in the 18th Congress, and served briefly in 1825. He was defeated for election to the 19th and 20th Congresses, but elected to fill the vacancy in the 20th Congress caused by the resignation of his friend John Forsyth who in 1827 became Governor of Georgia. (In 1834 Forsyth became Secretary of State in the cabinet of Wilde's hated President General Jackson.) Wilde was reelected to and served in the 21st, 22nd, and 23rd Congresses (1827-1835). During the years spent in Washington he became a friend of many eminent and famous men, statesmen, artists and writers. He almost succeeded in winning election to the Speakership of the House in 1834, but lost to John Bell, of Tennessee (1797-1869.) That same year he was defeated for reelection to Congress. Wilde was a Whig, and the entire Whig ticket was defeated in Georgia in the Congressional election of 1834.

Political defeat, a widespread and unpleasant controversy over the authorship of his "Summer Rose" (in which, though he took small part, he suffered considerable embarrassment), personal unhappiness and ill health were all partly responsible for Wilde's decision, in 1835, to leave America for a protracted visit to Europe.

In Europe Wilde travelled widely before settling in Florence, where he became an esteemed friend not only of many Englishmen and of such Americans as Greenough and Powers, the sculptors, who had studios there, and of other Americans, like young Charles Sumner, who visited there, but of eminent Italians, among whom the Marquis Gino Capponi (1792-1876), who headed a ministry in Tuscany in 1848, is perhaps best known today. Wilde took up in earnest the study of Italian—which he read and perhaps spoke before his trip to Europe, however—and began a study of Tasso, a life of Dante, and a volume of translations from the Italian lyric poets. His researches on Tasso were reported to America (in the *New York Knickerbocker Magazine* for October, 1836) by his friend James K. Paulding, who was later Secretary

³ Located by Dr. Lewis Chase, who is collaborating with me in my investigation of Wilde, from a clue furnished by Mrs. Monroe.

of the Navy. He played an important part in the discovery of a long lost portrait of Dante, attributed to Giotto, which was reported to America (in *The Knickerbocker Magazine* for October, 1841) by another friend, Washington Irving. He returned to New York toward the end of 1840, and arranged for the publication of his long essay, *Conjectures and Researches Concerning the Love, Madness and Imprisonment of Torquato Tasso*, which he had also prepared in Florence. The number and the tone of the reviews and notices of this book that appeared throughout the country after its publication, in January, 1842, leave no doubt of the esteem in which Wilde was held by literary America at the time of his return to the United States.

In this same year, 1842, appeared further proof of Wilde's literary distinction. He had not yet published (nor has there ever appeared) a volume of his collected poetry, but R. W. Griswold included Wilde in his *Poets and Poetry of America* (Philadelphia, 1842), reprinting eight of his poems. Later Longfellow used eighteen translations from Wilde's *Tasso* in his *Poets and Poetry of Europe* (Philadelphia, 1845), and Griswold included Wilde in his *Prose Writers of America* (Philadelphia, 1847), in which he reproduced as an engraving Eastman Johnson's excellent crayon portrait of Wilde (done in Washington in the winter of 1844-45).

Wilde settled in Augusta, after his return to America, and "again embraced 'old lady common law.'"⁴ It was probably business connected with his practice that took him to Washington in January, 1842, but it was probably for personal pleasure (as well as for discussion of impending copyright legislation, in which Wilde was much interested) that he went on to Baltimore to see John Pendleton Kennedy, at the time a member of Congress, but best known today as the author of *Swallow Barn* and *Horseshoe Robinson*.

Wilde was in Augusta again by May 4, 1842. A series of unpublished letters written in 1842, to William Gilmore Simms, the most distinguished man of letters in the South at that time, make it clear that Wilde was finding it difficult to put aside the literary role for the role of advocate. He was actively engaged

⁴ This fact is established by a letter (from which the quotation here used is taken) of July 28, 1841, from Charles Sumner in Boston to Wilde in Augusta. Unpublished manuscript in the possession of the author.

in legal practice in Augusta, however, though as early as February 6, 1843, he wrote R. W. Griswold:⁵

I have not time for [further literary] engagements, and shall soon have less than ever, for I am about to change my residence and resume my profession, a source of income too important to be neglected in the present depressed state of the country, when all property is unproductive.

The uninterrupted and laborious course of study which my new career will require in a theatre and under a system of law utterly unfamiliar, must necessarily cut my literary amusements off at once, and entirely. It may very possibly be years ere I take pen in hand for any such purpose, even to finish either the 'Italian Lyrics' or the 'Life & Times of Dante.'

In a long letter to Simms of July 15, 1843, Wilde makes no reference to his impending removal from Augusta; in December of the same year he was in Columbia, South Carolina, pleading a case before Chancellor Harper. But he must have left immediately for New Orleans, as he was admitted to the New Orleans bar in January, 1844.

It is not known if either of Wilde's sons accompanied him to New Orleans. He still maintained his home in Augusta, and there he left his slaves. He is said to have been associated in the practice of law in New Orleans with William Micou, but there is no evidence that their association took the form of a partnership. A New Orleans directory of 1846 gives the address of Wilde's office as No. 3 St. Charles Street. He probably lived from the first in the Hotel St. Louis, in the First Municipality—the older, and foreign part of the city—where Sir Charles Lyell found him in residence in 1846, though he was living at the time of his death in the St. Charles Hotel.

An attractive glimpse of Wilde in New Orleans is found in a book of sketches by a young New Yorker, *The Manhattaner in New Orleans*, published in New York in 1851, but written some four or five years earlier. The "Manhattaner" was Abraham Oakey Hall (1826-1898), afterwards notorious as a Tammany politician and lawyer and as the mountebank of the Tweed Ring, but in the late 1840's a charming young man of ready wit and debonair manners, whom Thomas and John Slidell were pleased

⁵ This letter, an unpublished manuscript in the Griswold papers of the Boston Public Library (quoted here by permission), was actually written from Washington where Wilde was "in attendance on the Supreme Court until about the 10th March."

to take into their law office. In a sketch called "Law and Gospel" Hall describes his first visit to the New Orleans courthouse in the company of a "Young Advocate," who says: "But if you are strangers, step into the appeal room; an interesting argument is on by one of our ripest scholars." Hall continues:

I crossed the vestibule and listened to him for half an hour . . .

I recognized in the speaker a tall gentleman of commanding appearance whom I had often met walking dignifiedly, and with a smiling face, among the busy city groups with cane in hand, which he held rather in compliment to his slightly-furrowed brow and flowing gray hair, than to assist footsteps which had lost none of their juvenile elasticity. His life had been made up of agreeable episodes. Now the admired advocate of his Georgian village; now a member of Congress beloved by all his associates, but little caring for the storms of politics; now a traveller in classic Italy, storing his mind with the lore of civil law, and amusing the leisure of his severer studies with writing a life of Torquato Tasso: now returning to his native land, settling in New Orleans, and shedding on the severer features of its rough-and-tumble life the chastening influence of his refined taste and classically stored mind. He had for a moment forgotten his classics and his poetry, and that "his life was like the summer rose"; and was deep in the mysteries of the question whether twenty-five bales of cotton belonged to a hook-nosed snuffy gentleman seated at his side (and dignified as "my client" by lips which in their day had smiled upon admiring throngs in drawing-rooms and saloons), or whether they belonged to a broad-backed Kentuckian who was seated by the grate-fire mumbling some chestnuts.

It is said that in New Orleans Wilde "at once commanded a lucrative business. He confined himself to important causes, where the litigation would justify liberal fees. His *minimum* charge is said to have been five hundred dollars."⁶ Certainly his cases were often important enough to take him to Washington, and to the bar of the Supreme Court. From Washington he wrote December 21, 1844, to William Gilmore Simms concerning a magazine Simms was then editing: "Tho now wholly occupied by the weightier matters of the law, and rather afraid of bad company, it will gratify me to witness other people's flirtations with

⁶ *The Bench and Bar of Georgia*. By Stephen F. Miller (Philadelphia, 1858), II, 368.

the Muses, & I promise not to resemble certain spinsters & dowagers who look with an evil eye on amusements they are no longer permitted to share."⁷ In Georgia, Wilde had taken part in a number of suits growing out of the difficulties involved in establishing claims to Florida lands on the basis on Spanish Grants. It may have been a similar case that absorbed a great deal of his time now. He wrote on December 17, 1844, to John Jacob Astor, in New York, to ask if he had any interest in certain lands. Astor's secretary, the poet Fitz-Greene Halleck, in replying that Astor "has not now, and has never had any interest in the lands you mention," added: "I hope that your determination to make New Orleans your home in future will not prevent you from occasionally visiting New York, where no one would be more warmly welcomed than your good self."⁸

Though New Orleans was now his place of residence, Wilde seems still to have regarded Augusta as home; and considering the difficulties of travel, it is surprising to find him away from New Orleans, and in Augusta, so much during the four years of his residence in New Orleans. On March 7, 1845, he wrote Griswold from New Orleans that he could be of little assistance to him in preparing his *Prose Writers of America* as all his manuscripts were in Georgia. On October 1, 1845, Wilde was in Cambridge, Mass., and Longfellow recorded in his journal: "Richard Henry Wilde, from New Orleans, called, with his white floating locks." On September 7, 1846 he wrote Griswold from Augusta requesting his aid in procuring a map which was probably required in a suit growing out of a land claim. The map was one included in early editions of John M. Peck's *Guide for Emigrants* (Boston, 1831; 1836; 1837).

On one of these maps, containing that part of Arkansas and Louisiana, which [is] around the juncture of the Arkansas River with the River Mississippi, [Wilde wrote,] was noted the size and form of a large grant made to the celebrated *John Law* by the Company of the Indies for 12 or 16 miles square. I want that map, with or without the book, and will give any reasonable price for it . . .

The scope of the work . . . was, among other things, to point out the best lands to locate on, for the purpose of

⁷ Quoted by permission from the unpublished manuscript letter in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

⁸ Halleck's letter of December 26, 1844, preserved in the Yale University Library, is published in *Fitz-Greene Halleck*. By Nelson Frederick Adkins (New Haven, 1930), p. 392.

acquiring preëemptive rights, and especially to direct squatters to the large Old French & Spanish Grants on which or off of which, it might be eligible to settle according as the author's opinion inclined him to think they would or could be confirmed.⁹

Wilde was still in Augusta in October, 1846, when Griswold wrote that no copy of the map could be procured.

Wilde was in New Orleans in February, 1846, however—and fortunately, when Sir Charles Lyell, the noted geologist arrived, with his wife, and—because it was the last day of carnival and the St. Charles was crowded—took rooms at the St. Louis. Lyell (1797-1875) was then on his second visit to the United States, and he had met Wilde before,—probably during his visit to Augusta during the first week of January, 1842. In his published journal of *A Second Visit to the United States of North America* (London and New York, 1849),¹⁰ Lyell calls Wilde an old friend, and speaks of his and Lady Lyell's pleasure in finding themselves at the same hotel.

At the Hotel St. Louis, Lyell records, there was a public table frequented by "bachelors, commercial travelers, and gentlemen not accompanied by their wives and families, and a more expensive one, called the Ladies' Ordinary, at which ladies, their husbands, and gentlemen whom they [invited, had] their meals." Wilde, as a person of "marked position in society," and probably because he was always fond of the company of ladies, had obtained permission from the ladies and the hotel keeper to have his meals regularly at the Ladies' Ordinary.

Wilde took Lyell to the Houses of the Legislature where they listened to a discussion

as to the propriety of changing the seat of government from New Orleans to some other place in Louisiana, for it had been determined, though by a majority of one only, in a convention appointed for that purpose, that they should go somewhere else, to a place at least sixty miles distant from the metropolis. I remarked, that the accessibility of New Orleans was so great, and so many

⁹ Quoted by permission from the unpublished manuscript letter in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

¹⁰ Reference to Wilde will be found on pages 96, 98-99, 102-03, 109, 125, and 129 of the American edition, vol. II. Dr. Lewis Chase has found in the *Pennsylvania Inquirer* of January, 1846. Wilde's "shingle": "Richard Henry Wilde, Advocate Counsellor and Attorney at Law, New Orleans."

must be drawn to it by business, that the determination to seek out a new site for a capital, seemed to me incomprehensible. "You will wonder still more," [Wilde] replied, "when I tell you, that when the convention had been some time in Baton Rouge to frame the new constitution, they thought it advisable to adjourn to New Orleans, where they could consult with lawyers who were attending the courts, and with the principal merchants, and where they might have access to good libraries, and be in daily communication by steam with all parts of the state. In short, they found that for the faithful discharge of their task, they stood in need of a great variety of information which they could obtain nowhere so readily as in the metropolis. Yet it seems never to have struck them that our future lawmakers might, with equal profit to the state, derive knowledge from the same sources."

Lyell was a good deal with Wilde during the two weeks he and Lady Lyell spent in New Orleans. Wilde introduced Lyell "to his friend" Henry Clay, who also was then visiting in New Orleans. Wilde took Lyell to see a unique date-palm, thirty feet high and Lyell remarked that the city should be adorned with avenues of such palms. They discussed the "Irish question"—the immigrants who were rapidly taking the place of Negroes as cabmen, draymen, and hotel servants. And they discussed the ever dreaded plague, yellow fever. Wilde had recently received a message from his Negroes in Georgia, entreating him to send for them.

They had felt, it seems, [Lyell recorded] somewhat hurt and slighted at not having been sooner permitted to join him. He told us that he was only waiting for a favorable season to transplant them, for he feared that men of color, when they had been acclimatized for several generations in so cool a country as the upper parts of Alabama and Georgia, might run great risk of yellow fever, although the medical men had assured him that a slight admixture of negro blood sufficed to make them proof against this scourge.

"No one," he said, "feels safe here, who has not survived an attack of the fever, or escaped unharmed while it has been raging."

But neither the description of A. Oakey Hall nor the account of Sir Charles Lyell reveals quite so much of Wilde's character and frame of mind during these last years in New Orleans

as do two letters written by Wilde to Francis Lieber (1800-1872), the exiled German patriot and eminent educator who was from 1835 to 1856 professor of history and political economy in South Carolina College (now the University of South Carolina)¹¹. It is possible that in these letters Wilde exaggerates the lack, or limitations of culture in New Orleans, in 1846 and 1847; but it must be remembered that whatever the similarity or dissimilarity of culture in New Orleans and Augusta, or New Orleans and New York (where Wilde counted most of the literary men of the day among his friends), he had lived for three years in Florence, Italy, for eight and more in Washington, D. C. And in a city that was still somewhat strange to him, he must inevitably have grown homesick for places of happy memory which he dearly loved. Longing thus for other places, he naturally exaggerated the unattractive features of his new home.

The first of the two letters (dated October 13, 1846) was written not from New Orleans but from Augusta, but the mood of discontent that was growing on Wilde, and had been intensified by residence in New Orleans is apparent even in this letter—written from his old home. The occasion of the letter was to introduce to Lieber, long a friend of Wilde's, young Mr. Thomas S. Jones of Augusta, a connection by marriage, who was about to enter South Carolina College. Having recommended young Jones to Professor Lieber, Wilde continued:

Having this occasion to write, I cannot resist the temptation of telling you how much pleasure I derived recently from the perusal of your *Hermeneutics*.¹² Stopping at Biloxi, on my way from New Orleans, to visit some invalid friends, I found your volume in the book case of mine host and having for the first time in some years a little leisure from the every day tasks that beset us in our American World, I had full opportunity to enjoy it, and to recognize another instance of our increasing debt to German scholarship. I take shame to myself for not having read it before, but if you only knew the labor I have had in studying a new system of Laws and at the same time undergoing the daily drudgery of my profession, you would pardon me. You will hardly do so, when I tell you that I perused for the first time this summer Nie-

¹¹ These letters are preserved in a collection of Lieber's papers now in the Huntington Library, San Marino, California, and are published here by permission.

¹² *Legal and Political Hermeneutics*. Boston, 1839.

buhr's Roman History,¹³ who to use Legaré's¹⁴ expression "Rebuilt the ancient city & revealed for the first time to the light of History the buried majesty of Rome." I was even now led to it, by the necessity of preparing notes for an argument before the Supreme Court of Louisiana this winter in which it is necessary for me to controvert the position of Legaré and Story,¹⁵ that the Romans and indeed the Ancient World were ignorant of *International Law*.

Reflecting that the Institutions of man are the growth of his necessities, and that when the necessity has been felt a reasonable time, the institution arises, I found it difficult to believe that amid the multiplied relations of the numerous & highly civilized States of Antiquity, either for War, Peace or Commerce, their leagues, their federations, & alliances, their rights of Isopolity, their Polemarchs & Proxeri, their diversified classes of citizens, aliens, and denizens, their Praetor Peregrinus, &c, there should not have been some traces of a system, such as all these officers and rights would pre-suppose. I have pretty nearly made up my mind to sustain in my argument an opinion contrary to such very high authority. But in the absence of any public library, and of almost all books requisite for my purpose, you can scarcely conceive what a labor of despair it has been.

The ground plan of the hasty entrenchment I have thrown up in the teeth of such fearful odds, is simply this. We negotiated last year thro' one of our most eminent Jurists, Mr. Wheaton,¹⁶ treaties with Saxony & Bavaria. After stipulating the mutual right of inheritance &c. for our citizens & theirs respectively, the treaties ultimately stipulate that if any dispute shall arise between citizens of the different countries claiming the same succession, it shall be decided by the Judges & according to the Laws of the place where the thing is. Now all the rights granted by the compact were expressed by the Greek Isopolity & the Latin Municipium, and the provision that the Judge and Law are to be those of the Defendant was the International Law of all antiquity, as well as of the semi-barbarous Jurisprudence of the middle ages. Is it not a little singular that the 19th Century which has got no

¹³ Barthold Georg Niebuhr (1776-1831), one time German ambassador in Rome, and the patron of Lieber (who had served him briefly as secretary), was the author of a *Roman History* first published in 1812, first published in an English translation in 1827.

¹⁴ Hugh Swinton Legaré (1797-1848), of Charleston, S. C., attorney-general of the United States under President Tyler.

¹⁵ Joseph Story (1779-1845), of Cambridge, Mass., judge of the United States Supreme Court.

¹⁶ Henry Wheaton (1785-1848), of Providence, R. I., minister to the court of Prussia, 1835-1846.

farther than these Barbarians, Greeks and Romans should deny them all knowledge of International Law?

I was once or twice on the point of starting for Columbia for the advantage of the College Library & the still greater advantage of profiting by the excellent ideas I should have derived from your conversation on this question, but want of time forbade. So many things were laid out to be done in these two months interval, that I could not spare one week without deranging all my plans. You cannot imagine what a disappointment this has been to me. It was so delightful to get for once into a field where duty & pleasure agreed—to quit the dull & beaten track of Civil Codes, Codes of Practice & Reports, and enter on the Antiquities and Philosophy of Jurisprudence—what your countrymen call the Metaphysics of the Law, that I would have given more than the best fee I shall get this winter, to have had full opportunity of investigating the subject properly. But how is it possible in our best of all possible countries to do anything of the kind as it ought to be done? The absence of all appliances & the perfect success of superficial knowledge, quackery, and self-sufficient dogmatism, is enough to discourage anyone, & I cannot enough admire the resolution of yourself & others, who still resolve to be learned, honest & profound despite all obstacles.

Have the kindness to make my respects acceptable to Madame, to Professor Henry¹⁷ & Mr. and Mrs Ellet,¹⁸ & any other of my Columbia friends who hold me in remembrance.

I have written to Col. Preston¹⁹ in Mr. Jones' favor.

With great and sincere respect

Yr friend & servt

R. H. WILDE²⁰

¹⁷ Robert Henry (1792-1856), minister of the French Huguenot church in Charleston, S. C., was twice president of South Carolina College.

¹⁸ William H. Ellet (died 1859) was professor of chemistry at South Carolina College from ca. 1837 to 1849. His wife was the famous Elizabeth Fries Lummis Ellet (1818-1877), author of numerous books on American women, *Women of the American Revolution* (1848), *Queens of American Society* (1867), etc.

¹⁹ John Smith Preston (1809-1881) was a wealthy planter, orator, and patron of the arts, who lived in Columbia.

²⁰ The present day reader who feels that Wilde was somewhat garrulous in this, and in the other letter to Lieber that follows, will be interested in a comment by Lieber on other letters of Wilde, presumably letters of recommendation or introduction. In a letter of December 16, 1848 (preserved in the Huntington Library) to Charles Sumner, Lieber wrote: "Wilde was here, and has given me 4 very acceptable letters indeed, except that they are written in too high a strain, about my reputation in America."

Wilde's second letter to Lieber, published here, is interesting and important for the references it contains to the beginnings of the University of Louisiana (now Tulane), and because it serves to correct the often repeated erroneous statement that Wilde taught law in New Orleans during the entire period of his residence there, and even taught law at a non-existent "University of Alexandria."²¹

Mr. Henry P. Dart, editor of the *Quarterly*, has gone to considerable trouble in investigating the possibility of truth in these statements and has come to the conclusion that there was no school of law in Louisiana at which Wilde could have taught before the Law School of the University of Louisiana was established in 1847. Wilde's letter to Lieber, written in the late spring or early summer of 1847, seems to afford excellent evidence that he—a self-educated lawyer—had not taught law previous to the time at which the letter was written.

The same convention that had, to the disgust of Wilde and to the amazement of Lyell, voted to transfer the capital from New Orleans to Baton Rouge, had provided, in Articles 137, 138 and 139, of the Constitution (adopted May 14, 1845) that a university composed of faculties of law, medicine, natural sciences and letters should be established in New Orleans, and called "The University of Louisiana"; but that the legislature should "be under no obligation to contribute to the establishment or support of said university by appropriation." The University was incorporated under Act 49 of the Legislature of 1847, passed February 16, 1847. On May 11, 1847, a meeting of the Board of Administrators of the University was held, and Henry A. Bullard, R. H. Wilde, Theodore H. McCaleb, and Randell Hunt were elected "Professors of the Law Faculty of the University" in the order named.²² Two days later, on May 13, 1847, Wilde participated in the organization of "The Association of the Bar of New Orleans" and was named—with Pierre Soule, Charles Watts, Christian Roselius, Edward Rawle, John Winthrop and William W. King

²¹ This statement is made in the *Biographical Directory of the American Congress 1774-1927*, published by the government in 1928, in a sketch of Wilde which, though brief, is otherwise probably more correct than any so far published.

²² See the *New Orleans Weekly Delta* for May 17, 1847, p. 243. A transcript of this notice was furnished me by Dr. J. M. Steadman, Jr., of Emory University, Ga., who has prepared the sketch of Wilde for a forthcoming volume of the *Dictionary of American Biography*.

—to the Committee on Membership.²³ The following letter, written sometime after the middle of May, in which Wilde reveals in completeness his pessimistic attitude concerning the proposed law school, hardly requires further introduction.

My Dear Sir:

If anything from this remote region reaches you in Carolina, you will have noticed, that smitten with the love of Science our late Convention authorized an University, specially providing that the State should *not* be bound to support it.

Several of my friends take a warm interest in this projected institution and anticipate much benefit from it. They have got from the legislature a grant for building a New Medical College, and the Faculty of the Law is to have the old shell of Surgery. The admst. [administrators?] as the Regents are called, the name being hateful I suppose, have organized Professorships of Law, four in number, into one of which I have been *forced* for my sins. It was in vain that I represented my utter want of faith in the scheme, and my total unfitness for the place. I have been obliged to yield, it would take too long to tell you why. Suffice it to say that I have assumed my conduct in this particular to be controlled contrary to my judgment, by the importunity of friends to whom I am under personal obligations. This I believe it is generally a foolish thing to do: but it is done.

And now though I have not a whit more faith than ever, it would be a fraud on friendship not to put out all my little ability & industry in favor of the plan to which gentlemen whom I very much esteem are committed. Thus I must do my earnest endeavor to make myself prove a false prophet, a task too heavy for Jonah. I can't help being amused with the great reliance placed upon it already.

One of our booksellers has applied to each professor to recommend such books as *his class* are most likely to want. Natural & National Law, the conflict of Law, Constitutional Law, the General Jurisdiction of the U. S. Courts, Chancery & Chancery practice, having fallen to my share, I have put down your Political Ethics²⁴ & Hermeneutics among my list, as works which my class would do well to read. And now, my dear Sir, if you will favor me so

²³ This information was furnished me by Mr. Henry P. Dart, who also provided me with the references to the acts of the constitutional convention and of the legislature establishing the University.

²⁴ *Manual of Political Ethics for the Use of Colleges and Students at Law.* Boston, 1888-89. 2 vols.

far as to give me the list of a few which I ought to read myself, you will do me a great favor.

Of course I do not affect to be entirely ignorant of the topics assigned me. The common place books of Natural & National Law such as Grotius, Vattel, Rutherford, Martens, Ward, Wheaton, Story, Burge's Conflict of Laws,²⁵ &c I have read, either formerly or lately, but I am aware that there are many recent publications in France & more in Germany, which I ought to consult.

I do not read German with sufficient ease to make a scientific work comprehensible to me. Indeed, I am only beginning to understand it at all. Of German works therefore only those published in Latin or French or translated would be of any use to me.

We have in New Orleans nothing like a Public Library and not even a tolerable bookstore. Everything like the instruments & facilities of teaching will have to be gradually created, & long before they can be half collected, the University will go out. At least such is my apprehension.

We propose beginning next winter, and our first course will be superficial enough. If the undertaking lingers on a few years we may perhaps acquire more books & give more time to them: but a professor should be a professor & nothing else. I do not see how we whose practise is our chief source of dependence, and who do not even regard our lectures as a source of income at all, for we are paid no salary, and admit the Bar gratuitously, can possibly do justice to our class. All this I have represented over and over again. In this blind country of ours where one-eyed men are prodigies of learning, being superficial is not an admitted excuse. We even rush to the press with our crudities saying over again which [*sic.* with?] happy unconsciousness, as new truths, any imaginable number of exploded fallacies. But of such are our Government, Constitution, laws, and institutions made, and I doubt whether it be even possible to disabuse us from our Errors.

If I must teach, for which I am very sorry, as I dare say all those will be who forced me into it, I must teach what I know or believe, and as I know or believe it. To this end I am quite willing to learn, & mean to employ as much of the summer as I can, for that purpose. I am so much delighted with what I have read of Heeren, Niebuhr,

²⁵ Wilde probably refers here to Hugo Grotius (1583-1645), Emrich von Vattel (1714-1767), Samuel Rutherford (1600-1661), Georg Friederich von Martens (1756-1821), Robert Plumer Ward (1765-1846), Henry Wheaton (1785-1848), Joseph Story (1779-1845) and William Burge (1787-1849),—the last named the author of *Commentaries on the Law of Suretyship . . . and on the Conflict of those Laws*. (First American edition, Boston, 1847.)

Boeckh²⁶ and others of your countrymen, that my interest in German literature greatly increases & I look more to that quarter than any other for honest, sound information laboriously acquired & communicated in good faith. But I want even the Rudiments. The very names of the authors are unknown to me.

If in the course of your vacation you can find leisure to drop me a letter, I shall esteem it a great kindness. If not, I shall take the will for the deed, & begging to be kindly remembered to your President & confreres—remain as Ever

Very faithfully

Yr friend

RICHARD HENRY WILDE.

Wilde's prophecy of failure for the new school of law was—happily—not fulfilled. The school was active (save for the period of the War Between the States) until it was merged into Tulane University, and most of the Lawyers of Louisiana, during the period of its independent existence, received their education there. But Wilde himself may never have delivered any of the lectures for which he so conscientiously made preparations. In September an epidemic of yellow fever broke out. Wilde refused to leave the city, and expressed his belief that with proper care he would escape contagion, but that, should he take it, the "professional skill in New Orleans would be qualified to save him."²⁷ He contracted the disease but "had no apprehension of danger until within a few hours of his death. On being notified of his perilous situation, he became deeply anxious, and struggled to maintain his hold on life."²⁸ Death came at five in the morning of Friday, September 10, 1847, in his room at the St. Charles Hotel.²⁹

Obituary notices appeared in newspapers and magazines throughout the United States, and in the *Archivio Storico Italiano* of Florence. In the New Orleans *Weekly Delta* of September 13, 1847³⁰ appeared a long obituary, containing this reference to Wilde's residence in New Orleans:

²⁶ For Niebuhr see note 13. A. H. L. Heeren (1760-1842) was the author of *Ideas on the Politics, Commerce, and Trade of the Principal Nations of Antiquity* (1824). August Boeckh (1785-1867) was the author of *The Public Economy of the Athenians* (1817). These books, as well as Niebuhr's *Roman History*, were available in English translations.

²⁷ *Georgia and Georgians*. By L. L. Knight (Chicago, 1917), V, 2584.

²⁸ Miller's *Bench and Bar*, II, 368.

²⁹ These details are given in a brief memoir prepared by John P. Wilde in 1855 for W. G. Simms, and by Simms forwarded to E. A. Duyekinek. It is preserved in the Duyekinek papers in the New York Public Library, and is quoted here by permission.

³⁰ A transcript of this was furnished me by Dr. J. M. Steadman, Jr.

His success here was flattering; and although his retired and studious tastes were little adapted to the busy scenes of this commercial city, his profound knowledge and fine capabilities as a juriconsult in the higher walks of the legal profession, secured him a large and increasing practice. His arguments, marked as they always were with the proofs of amplest study, research and deliberation, expressed in a style of classic purity and lucid elegance, never failed to fix the attention of our Supreme Court, and to excite the admiration of the Bar.

A. Oakey Hall wrote the obituary notice that appeared in the *New Orleans Commercial Bulletin*.³¹ The language is exaggerated but the sentiments expressed were probably quite sincerely those of all who had known Richard Henry Wilde.

The judge upon the bench, opening his winter term, will have one less cordial nod to bestow, as he looks around upon the Bar of New Orleans—the youthful advocate will have one less approving smile upon his successful efforts—the University of Louisiana will have one less matured and enthusiastic parent of its promising infancy—the social and the festive board, will have one less admired visitor—fallen by the pestilence, none will be more sincerely tant and honored guest; and among hundreds who have mourned than the distinguished scholar and amiable gentleman, whose coming, a few years since, all welcomed—whose untimely removal, all deplore.

In a city like New Orleans, where trade and commerce are the great monopolizers of the human passions, and the plannings and the enterprises of their votaries are the almost absorbing business of life, a man like Mr. Wilde exercised a great humanizing influence. His learning illumined the labyrinths of commercial transactions; his scholastic graces scattered roses in the retired walk of those escaping for a moment from the toil and burdens of the day; he mingled the amenities of life with its cares, and softened its wearied hours with the suggestions and lessons that a refined taste so agreeably prompts.

Th' envenomed whirlwind o'er the city passed;
And, as in forests yields the monarch oak
At rudest summons of autumnal blast,
So did'st thou fall before the whirlwind stroke,
Oh Poet-Jurist!, leaving friends behind
Who deeply sorrow thy untimely end;
And off'ring grief-wove tributes, as the bend

³¹ This obituary is reprinted in part in Hall's *Manhattan in New Orleans*, pp. 85-86, and in Miller's *Bench and Bar*, II, 345-46.

Around thy tomb, unto thy master mind!
Hushed are thy lays; the music of thy tongue
Shall ring no more in learning's halls; nor seen
The stately form; the winning smile; the mien
Which charmed the thousand hearts thou dwelt among.
And whilst enshrined within those hearts thou'lt be,
Each mourner-friend "*will shed a tear for thee.*"

A gentleman of New Orleans who knew Miss Jenny Wilde, the granddaughter of Richard Henry Wilde, herself a poet of some ability and a successful designer of carnival floats, has recently written in a personal letter: "The Wildes seem to have faded out of the memory of our people save the few who like myself knew Jenny Wilde socially. I never met her sister, and I may add she never talked about her family and apparently knew next to nothing about her grandfather." A few notes on Wilde's descendants may not be out of place here.

Wilde was burried in a vault in New Orleans, but in 1854 his body was carried, in accordance with his own expressed wish, to the family burying ground at Sand Hill, near Augusta, Georgia. By 1885 the condition of the grave warranted the publication—by Charles Colcock Jones, Jr.—of a pamphlet entitled *The Life, Labors and Neglected Grave of Richard Henry Wilde*. The next year The Hayne Literary Circle of Augusta (of which James Ryder Randall was an active member) had the body removed to the city cemetery of Augusta where, in the "Poets' Corner," lie close together Wilde, Paul Hamilton Hayne, Will Hayne, and Randall. A monument to Wilde has been erected in Greene Street, Augusta.

According to A. Oakey Hall, whom J. P. Wilde called "a friend of mine," William Cumming Wilde was in Italy with his father, and he may have accompanied his father to New Orleans in 1844. He inherited something of his father's talent, gathered his father's manuscripts and collected his father's letters, and planned to issue several posthumous volumes of his father's works. Of these only, the long poem *Hesperia*, was ever issued. The unfinished "Life and times of Dante" and "Specimens of Italian Lyric Poetry" remain in manuscript, as do the collected short pieces, in the Library of Congress. It is less remarkable that *Hesperia* was published at all than that it should have been published (in Boston) in 1867, twenty years after the author's death. The biography, which was promised for completion in the spring of

1856, was never published, and the manuscript is now probably lost. An essay entitled "Petrarch's Laura" by W. C. Wilde appeared in the October, 1854, issue of *The Southern Quarterly Review*, in which his father's essay "Petrarch and Laura" (a review of Campbell's life of Petrarch) had appeared eleven years before. In 1856 he wrote a letter to the editor of the New Orleans *Sunday Delta* (published in the issue of July 13, 1856) in which he refuted once more, in thoroughly scholarly fashion, the old charge of plagiarism that had been brought up once more against his father. His brother (who is authority for the statement that W. C. Wilde was a graduate of Georgetown College—now University) had a high opinion of W. C. Wilde's literary ability, and his classic scholarship. He practised law in New Orleans, and as late as May 4, 1875, attempted to arrange for the publication of a life of his father to be written by "A lady (and literary friend of some note in our city)." (This letter, with two of his brother's, is in the New York Public Library.) Miss Mildred Rutherford wrote in *The South in History and Literature* (Athens, Ga., 1906) that W. C. Wilde was like his father, "a singer of sweet songs." "He married Miss Virginia Wilkinson, and their son, who was named for his distinguished grandfather, became a brilliant journalist, and their daughter quite an artist. His second wife was Miss Mary Goodale and he moved soon after their marriage to the country 'In order,' as he expressed it, 'to listen to the songs of the birds, and to let the eye rest upon an expanse of beauty as broad as its sight of heaven.' He contracted pneumonia—and died there [1890] from its effects."

John Patterson Wilde was practising law in New Orleans by November 12, 1851, if not earlier, and apparently in the office of Judah P. Benjamin. In 1855 he prepared a memoir of his father that became the basis of the sketch in the Duyckincks' *Cyclopedia of American Literature* (New York, 1856), and in 1851 a memoir that is printed verbatim in Miller's *Bench and Bar of Georgia* (Philadelphia, 1858); but neither memoir is satisfactory, nor wholly accurate, and both are singularly lacking in detailed statements.

Jenny (Virginia) Wilde was the daughter of W. C. Wilde, and was born in Augusta. In 1888 she published a volume entitled *Why, and Other Poems*. In 1895 she assisted Dr. T. W.

Koch (at present librarian of Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois) in the preparation of his study of Wilde as an important early American Italian scholar in his report on *Dante in America*, written for the Dante Society of Cambridge, Mass., and published in Boston in 1896. She was well known in New Orleans as an artist, and had entire charge of one of the most beautiful of Mardi Gras parades. A pathetic account of her death abroad, and of her burial in Metairie Cemetery, New Orleans, is to be found in Miss Grace King's posthumous *Memories of a Southern Woman of Letters* (New York, 1932; pp. 352-53).

A great-niece of Wilde's, Miss Martha Wilde Pournelle, of Augusta, Ga., informs me that Miss Emily Wilde, sister of Jenny Wilde, was preparing to present her grandfather's manuscripts to the public library at Augusta when her home burned and the manuscripts were destroyed (this presumably within the last eight years.) As Wilde's poetic manuscripts had been long since deposited in the Library of Congress, those that burned were probably the letters W. C. Wilde had asked back and collected from his father's correspondent's, personal and family papers, and W. C. Wilde's own unpublished life of his father. What letters of Wilde's have come to light recently are undoubtedly those W. C. Wilde was not able to locate. I have located and secured copies of some fifty-three (exclusive of those already published) owned chiefly by the Boston Public Library, the New York Public Library, the Peabody Institute of Baltimore, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, the Huntington Library, the New York Historical Society, the Columbia University Library, and in several private collections. A number in my own possession I secured a few years ago from a New York dealer in autographs. Not a letter, apparently, is owned by any Louisiana Institution.

A crayon portrait of Wilde by Eastman Johnson, first reproduced in Griswold's *Prose Writers of America*, is the only familiar likeness of Wilde. A medallion (profile bust) by his friend Powers, probably executed in Rome, is reproduced in *Appleton's Cyclopedia of American Biography* (New York, 1889). J. P. Wilde informed S. F. Miller in 1851 that "we have an excellent portrait by the late Mr. Cook, which was taken a few months before my father's death." This portrait has apparently never been reproduced, and may well be lost with the Wilde letters—the last tangible connection of Richard Henry Wilde with New Orleans.

THE OLD PECAN TREE ON "EUREKA PLANTATION", EAST CARROLL PARISH, LA.

By MRS. W. M. MURPHY

Tallulah, La.

WHAT a glorious tree it was!

To my childish fancy the very biggest in the world!

True, my world was not so big as to square miles, but very full and complete, and perfectly satisfactory to me, and surely one could ask no more of any world!

The passing years have compelled me to enlarge my earthly boundaries, and to confess that the Redwoods of the west, and many other trees have more to offer by way of circumference and cubic feet, but even now, in the disillusionment attendant upon birthdays and statistics, I feel that the little world, bounded by the river on the north, the woods on the south, the sun rising from the cotton fields, on the east, and sinking behind the lone cypress on the west, was the very best I have known; and the old Pecan Tree, so straight and strong, with wide protecting arms, was the greatest tree that ever grew.

How many times I marked my height on its rough bark, marveling, and eagerly counting the scars to see how long before I'd be as tall as a "real lady!"

How often I stretched my weak, childish arms about its sturdy body and laughed in sheer delight at the wondrous bulk!

It stood just in the middle of the garden, and I say "the" garden advisedly, for there was no other to be compared with it, in the minds of the children who knew it.

It was a veritable "Garden of Eden" forbidden fruit and all, with many little Eves flitting about, in more raiment than the original lady, but just as wily and as surely on mischief bent.

The garden was planned with rare wisdom and sense of values. On one side, ran the prim, clean rows of vegetables; on another, the orchard, with its important feature—the plum thicket, a tangle of temptation, where the green fruit insured certain pain, and the slippery seed possible appendicitis!

But, best of all, on the other two sides, spread a field of flowers, not laid off in stiff, geometric lines, but springing up everywhere in the joy of life, barely leaving a path for careful feet.

Such a tumultuous tumble of bloom and sweetness, crowding about, hanging over, and absolutely overwhelming one with perfume and beauty!

An old fashioned garden, where every flower that wanted to bloom was given a fighting chance. Homely "old maids" and "bachelor's buttons" flirted in unblushing delight; stately Japonicas queened it royally in sunny places; waxy tube roses breathed their heavy fragrance in shady nooks, and there were roses, roses everywhere—from Baby Ramblers to veteran trees!

In this garden was something always in bloom; from the time the little violet sister of the snow, peeped timidly forth, until the alien Madame Chrystantheme, wrapped in her gorgeous kimona, bowed under the first frost flurry.

But in midsummer, things were rampant indeed!

Weeds, grass and blossoms, alike, casting off restraint, and seeking to get nearer their Sun Lover, whose ardent warmth was tempered by the shielding arms of the old Pecan Tree.

He claimed and protected all this beauty, but allowed it to come only so near, for he must needs keep a radius of bare, brown earth about his feet, where his childish friends might play without fear of hurting any living thing.

There were tiers of apartments along his rugged sides, with artistic, bark balconies, decorations of wood fern and moss, for lady-bugs, ants and other tenants.

Squirrels had homes and store-houses deep in his hollow branches. Birds of many kinds, from the wily woodpecker which dug remorselessly into his body, to the wonderful mocking bird, which swung from the top-most limb, and serenaded him on moonlight nights, were welcome to build their nests and rear their broods within his leafy seclusion.

The cawing crow was invited to rest in his flight and sample a nut; the dusty bee was offered a sip of pungent bloom, to better flavor her honey; but the sweep of earth about the old tree's feet was given over to the children—the noisy, carefree, little children who romped all day in his shade; and who loved him, not just for his plump, rich nuts—though they were greedy, little

creatures and vied with each other in thrashing time as to who should gather the most, but because he was their natural friend and benefactor, so great and strong as to inspire confidence and awe.

A spacious bench ran around his portly body, and was enlarged from time to time as age brought the increase of girth, more acceptable in trees than in men!

Here the children sat to nibble their fruits and nuts, to arrange their flowers, to encircle themselves with clover chains.

Here the naughty boys held exciting "cock fights" with little inoffensive violets, or played marbles with the glossy buckeyes, and always they ate of the fruits of the trees, and the raw things of the garden, or whatever else they might fall upon!

Oh! such tea-parties, with lily bells for cups, sharp sticks for knives, crooked sticks for forks, magnolia petals for plates, and fig leaf aprons for protection—as of old!

The menu was varied to suit the season; but was most acceptable when marked by a relish of onion, a "piece de resistance" of watermelon, bon bons of rose leaves and mint, all washed down with deep draughts of spring water.

The old Pecan Tree pronounced grace upon these revels and fanned the hot cheeks of the Bacchantes.

A wide, low swing hung from one strong bough; a hammock from another, and near by a gymnasium pole tempted the daring to deeds of prowess.

How peaceful to stretch out in the hammock, stare straight through the green into the blue, wondering if that were really heaven, or if it mattered to have a few more freckles on one's nose!

What a delight to swing high up among the leafy branches, short skirts flying and long legs dangling, then slowly and sleepily to "let the old cat die!"

And how exciting to tear one's clothes and endanger life and limb on that tricky gymnasium pole! Someway, nobody ever got hurt in the enchanted garden.

I should think not! Was not the old Pecan Tree always there? That ancient protector of many generations of young life. Despite his fresh appearance and youthful sympathies, he was very, very old—Pecan Trees grow so slowly and he was very big.

He had also begun to wear a muffler of grey Spanish Moss, which softened his bold beauty as does the silvered head of age.

His great body was played upon by varying emotions; the gay rustle of the morning breeze falling to a low, sad murmur as the west winds brought the deeping shadows.

I am sure, at times, his soul was torn by mournful memories of tragedies enacted by fierce Indian tribes, whose camp fires scorched his young limbs; of the privations of early settlers whose weary bodies sought his shade; of ruthless changes in the swift flying years, to which he was a silent witness.

In storms his long arms wrung themselves in agony and strange mutterings came from his inmost depths, and it was well the little children saw him not.

But with the return of peace, the old tree would take on his usual calm, ready to wave a welcome to his little friends, and echo their songs and laughter.

But never in life can playtime last always, and when the heightened scars on the bark showed that I was really a big girl, it was arranged that I should come to the house of the glorious garden and share lessons with the young people there.

Then I began to envy the old Pecan Tree. How great to know everything already! How fine to stay out all day with bare feet buried in the warm earth, head high in the sunshine and arms waving in the breeze! Nothing to do but listen to the birds, drink in the breath of flowers, live and be happy, and be a friend to all little boys and girls!

Day after day I would reluctantly drag my eyes from the window to my slate and hopelessly wrestle with vulgar fractions," or laggingly follow my copy, daintily traced on spotless foolscap by the dear "Lady of the Garden."

It sometimes ran, "Ruin is wrought by want of thought as well as by want of heart," or it reminded me that "The heroic Warren fell at Bunker Hill," but when the noon hour came I easily forgot all this valuable information, and flew to my old companion, who whispered strange things to eager ears, and invited me to spread my lunch on his worn bench.

There was a lovely arbor of golden Lady Bank in the garden, with rustic seats and tables, where I might have taken my rest

and refreshments, but even to my immature mind there was something not just in keeping between the dainty bower and a little sunbrowned girl, munching hardboiled eggs and cookies.

I felt that "bowers" demanded two occupants and a more delectable diet! And I know in after years, as the boys and girls who played in the garden became "children of a larger growth," and felt the need of other joys than the swing and the vaulting pole, the bench under the tree held its own with the lovers' bower, and the faithful old guardian shut many secrets in his leafy strong box, and intercepted vows—long since forgot—on their way to heaven, and held them captive, lest thoughtless lips should suffer perjury!

Long years have passed since I spent so many days under the old Pecan Tree, and miles have intervened.

Many changes have come to the erstwhile little children of the garden.

The lessons of life proved more difficult than those of the schoolroom; the problems not so easily wiped from the slate; the blots not so quickly rubbed from the copy.

Some have passed beyond the hazy border, dividing the visible and the invisible.

The gracious "Lady of the Garden" blessed of memory walks now with delicate tread in the Garden of Paradise, where frosts come not and flowers bloom always.

The great river which formed my northern boundary, greedily encroached upon our lands till we, the alleged owners, succumbed to this mighty claimant, and gave our all to his unappeasable appetite.

Through all these changes, the old Pecan Tree lived on for years; green and fresh in the spring time, gloriously abundant in the summer, yielding its harvest in the autumn, and shivering bold and bare against winter skies.

But even that seemingly indestructible life has now passed away, leaving not one sign to mark its story.

I could never think of it as dying, crumbling away, returning to dust as humbler trees have done; and indeed, its end was not so commonplace.

The river, too, must have felt that such an end would be unbecoming so kingly a life, and in pity of this lone Lear of the garden, had crept stealthily closer and closer, till with one stupendous heart throb, he drew to his heaving breast the glorious bulk, with its protesting branches and bleeding roots, and in the stillness of the night, with no one to witness the tragedy, bore away on his swirling current the dear, old Pecan Tree with its wealth of knowledge, of sacred confidences and loving memories!



✓ THE NATCHEZ MASSACRE AND GOVERNOR PERIER

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Among the Indian tribes of the Mississippi Valley none attracted so much attention as the Natchez. About no other tribe is there such a wealth of information from contemporary writers. Later, the magic pen of Chateaubriand would have sufficed to immortalize them, had not the Indians taken care to perpetuate their memory by a massacre that brought the colony "to the verge of ruin."¹ This paper will discuss the number of victims that perished in this massacre and the role played by the Governor of Louisiana.

On November 28, 1729,² the Natchez under the pretext of a hunt came to the French settlement asking for guns and ammunition. To allay any suspicion, they repaid the French whatever they owed them. Dancing the calumet march they entered the fort, went to the house of the Commandant, bringing him presents. Then a signal was given and they fell upon the unsuspecting soldiers and settlers. Within a few hours more than 200 men, women and children were savagely murdered.³ The estimated number of the victims varies greatly, ranging from 200⁴ to 2,000. Thus Governor Perier puts the number as 250;⁵ Belletrus 400;⁶ Dumont, more than 700;⁷ La Page du Pratz nearly 700;⁸ Bossu

¹ Archives Nationales, Colonies, C 13A, 12:38. Hereafter quoted as AC., C 13A.

² We take this to be the correct date. It is given by Perier (AC, C 13A, 12:37); by Delays, who commanded the militia in the first punitive expedition (AC., C 13C, 4:35, and C 13A, 5:217); letter of Diron to the Minister (AC., C 13A, 12:371v.), printed in Rowland and Sanders, *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, (MPA) I, 76ss.; Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Français, Nouvelles Acquisitions (BN., Mss. fr., n. a.) 2551:23. — In Thwaites (*Jesuit Relations*, 68:13 and 164), October is given, an error evidently, for *ibid.*, 168, November is found. The Paris, 1830, Edition of the "*Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses...*", *Amérique*, II, 205, has November. Bossu, *Nouveaux Voyages aux Indes Occidentales...* Paris, 1768, I, 74, has December. — The sources disagree as to the time of the day: Perier, *Ibid.*, between 9:00 and 10:00 A. M.; *Jes. Rel.*, 68:164, about 9:00 A. M.; BN., Mss. fr., n. a., 2551:23, 11:00 A. M.

³ *Jes. Rel.*, 68:164; Charlevoix, *Histoire de la Nouvelle-France*, Paris, 1744, II, 467.

⁴ This total is found in BN., Mss. fr., n. a., 2551:23; Raynal, *Histoire Philosophique des Indes...* Genève, 1781, VIII, 116.

⁵ AC., C 13A, 12:38. There is a marginal note on folio 37, giving 227 killed.

⁶ BN., *Joly de Fleury*, 1726 : 211.

⁷ *Mémoires Historiques sur la Louisiane...*, Paris, 1753, II, 144.

⁸ *Histoire de la Louisiane...*, Paris, 1758, III, 258.

has 2,000;⁹ which total is repeated by Montagne.¹⁰ On what authority Besson bases his total is not known.¹¹ The first attempt at accuracy is to be found in the article of de Villiers already referred to.¹² He gives the number of victims as 238, namely, 146 men, 36 women and 56 children.¹³ Later, in another article he gives: 138 men, 35 women and 56 children,¹⁴ a total of 229. A list of the victims, dated June 1730, certified by Father Philibert, the Capuchin missionary in charge of the French settlers at Natchez, is preserved in the French Archives.¹⁵ It is printed in the *Mississippi Provincial Archives*.¹⁶ The total gives 144 men, 36 women and 56 children, in all, 236; but in this list are included 6 soldiers killed or put to death after torture by the Natchez following the fiasco of the scouting expedition sent by de Loubois from the Tunicas. This list is also found in *The Louisiana and Mississippi Martyrs*.¹⁷ The author of this pamphlet says: "There should be a 6 in the vertical column . . . thus making a total of 242 men, women and children."¹⁸ He overlooked the fact that the words, "Detachment from the Tunicas for scouting consisting of 7 men, one escaped with his life," refer to the enumeration that follows; namely, 6 were killed, and the names are then given.

Besides this list there is another one compiled seven years later and sent to France 1741, by Salmon, then *Commissaire ordonnateur*. The opening words read: "We, deputy by the [Superior] Council to accompany the French Army sent against the Natchez and commanded by M. le Chevalier de Loubois, campaign of 1729 and 1730, certify to have received the following declaration concerning the number of those killed at the time of the massacre between November the first (?) 1729 and August the

⁹ *Op. cit.*, I, 74.

¹⁰ *Histoire de la Compagnie des Indes*, Paris, 1899, 114.

¹¹ "Les derniers Natchez, Episode de la colonisation de la Louisiane en 1730," *Revue de l'Histoire des Colonies Françaises*, XVI, 105-120. Cf. the criticism of this article in *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris*, "La Louisiane de Chateaubriand," XVI, n. s., (1924), 131. In Besson's article Judge Bailly becomes the curate of Natchez; the Tunica Indians are Tromicas; the Tioux, Sioux; the Yazoo River is the Zucour, etc.

¹² *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris*, "La Louisiane de Chateaubriand," XVI, n. s., (1924), 125. ss.

¹³ *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris*, XVI, N. S., (1924), 146.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, XXIII, n. s., (1931), 318, note 3.

¹⁵ AC., C 13A, 12:57-58.

¹⁶ I, 228 ss.

¹⁷ J. J. O'Brien, S. J., New York, 1928, 22 ss.

¹⁸ *Op. cit.*, 30, note 7.

first 1730. At the Natchez Post." The total is 285 men, women and children.¹⁹

While on the whole these two lists agree, they show many discrepancies. Some entries in that of June, 1730, are left out in that of 1737, and vice-versa. The second list gives more particulars than the first: the town in France the settlers came from, whether they came to Louisiana freely or by constraint, and to whom the wives of those who were killed are now married.²⁰ It includes all those who died in the massacre or as a consequence of it. For instance, entry n. 126: "Two children at the [*Ursulines*] Convent,"²¹ whose names are not known;" n. 134: "A boy 7 years old, died among the Chaouachas, whose name is not known;" n. 166: "A man at Rousseau's whose name is not known, and a child at Rocancourt's whose name is not known." This list, divided into two parts, gives in the second part the names of those killed at the Yazoo Post,²² and ends thus:

We, the undersigned, *habitants* of the Province of Louisiana, certify to all whom it may concern as having full and entire knowledge that those listed in the present census were really killed in the massacre of the French by the Natchez, both at the Natchez and the Yazoo Posts, in testimony whereof we have signed the same in New Orleans, on December the thirteenth, one thousand seven hundred and thirty seven. *Signed*: Avignon, tarascon, jaque judice for his wife, the widow frape, morice, Luc, Levesque, fonder, mark of the widow La Lancette called Simon, of the widow André George, of the widow Criée, of the widow Louis henry, a cross as their mark, and Prevost, deputy by the Council for the campaign of M. le Chevalier de Louboey.

We, undersigned, Capuchin, Priest, Apostolic missionary, Vicar General of Msgr. of Quebec, certify to all whom it may concern that the present report of people killed in the Natchez massacre is faithful to the original deposited in our hands. In witness whereof we have signed the same that it may serve and stand in place of the original document. In New Orleans, December the fourteenth, one thousand seven hundred and thirty seven. *Signed*, f. Mathias, Capuchin, Vicar General.²³

¹⁹ Distributed thus: 177 men, 47 women and 59 children; one half-breed (*metis*); and the child killed in his mother's womb, entry n. 57; "Bideau fils d'un charon de Paris venu soldat et sa femme a qui les sauvages ont arraché Lenfant (*sic*) dans le ventre." The woman and her daughter burned by the Coroas are not counted.

²⁰ Cf. *Jes. Rel.*, 68:198.

²¹ *Id.*, *ibid.*

²² Eleven names are given.

²³ AC., G. 1, 464.

From the opening and closing words of this list as well as from a comparison with that of 1730, it would seem that the first list was made use of, and that all that the survivors, mostly the women rescued later on from the clutches of the Natchez by the Choctaws, could remember, was pooled for this second compilation.

This slaughter cost the Natchez 12 men, all killed by La Loire des Ursins and his servants. Two Frenchmen only were spared,²⁴ and a few escaped to tell the tale.²⁵ When the massacre was over, the Natchez looted the French dwellings, the fort, the warehouses and the church. They spent days and nights celebrating the success of their coup: they drank, sang, danced and made merry.²⁶ Gruesome stories are told of how the heads of the victims were set in two rows: officers and officials on one side, settlers on the other.²⁷ The news of the tragedy reached New Orleans on December 2, 1729,²⁸ causing consternation and alarm in the town, as well as in the rest of the colony as the details reached the various posts.²⁹ It was only natural that people should inquire into the cause of this fearful slaughter, that they should wish to know what had determined the Indians to take such a terrible vengeance upon the colonists.

Governor Perier, Fathers Le Petit and Charlevoix, S. J., Dumont, Le Page Du Pratz, assert that there was a general conspiracy of all the Indian tribes to wipe out at one blow all the French in Louisiana. This story has been repeated by those who have taken these contemporary writers as their guides,³⁰ until de Villiers made a critical study of these accounts of the revolt and came to the conclusion that the general conspiracy was a myth. De Villiers

²⁴ Charlevoix, *op. cit.*, II, 468; *Jes. Rel.*, 68:166, a taylor and a carpenter; Dumont *op. cit.*, II, 155, and Le Page du Pratz, *op. cit.*, III, 260, a taylor and a carter.

²⁵ "The number of survivors scattered everywhere was more difficult to ascertain. It has been given as 250 persons, (20 men, 80 women and 150 children)", de Villiers, *op. cit.* Belletrus, *BN.*, *Joly de Fleury*, 1726: 211, only 15 persons escaped; Bossu, *op. cit.*, I, 74, 20 men, 5 or 6 negroes, 150 children, 90 women and as many negroes; he is merely repeating what Charlevoix has, *op. cit.*, II, 467. Perier wrote to the Minister, March 18, 1730: "We took back more than 200 women or children, all our negroes," AC., C 13A, 12:289, in MPA., I, 61 ss. Charlevoix has this letter, II, 476.

²⁶ *Jes. Rel.*, 68:170.

²⁷ AC., C 13A, 12:40 v., and 116.

²⁸ *Jes. Rel.*, 68:162; Perier's *Relation*, AC., C 13A, 12:37. Except for a few omissions this relation is found in Gayarré, *Histoire de la Louisiane*, Nouvelle-Orléans, 1846, I, 242 ss.

²⁹ Cf. AC., C 13A, 12:116, for the Choctaw country; *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, (LHQ), III, (1920), 534, for the Illinois country.

³⁰ The author of the article in LHQ., VI, (1923), 551, had his doubts about the general conspiracy. G. King, in her *Sieur de Bienville*, 287, disbelieved the tale of the general conspiracy, but she relied merely on the denials of the Natchez to de Bienville. These assertions taken by themselves would not disprove the conspiracy. Cf. *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris*, XXIII, n. s., (1931), 331.

says: "Perier needed³¹ a general conspiracy to make people forget his guilty weakness toward Etcheparre; to justify some exceedingly regrettable measures, such as the massacre of the harmless Chaouachas who paid with their lives for the color of their skin, and above all, to find some excuse for the pitiful manner with which the repressive measures were conducted."³² To be sure, the Natchez agreed among themselves to fall upon the French at a given date, but that they had a secret agreement with the other Indian nations is not only not proved, but all evidence points to the contrary.

That Charlevoix was influenced by Perier is evident when one compares the account of the Jesuit historian with the correspondence of the Governor:³³ when de Charlevoix does not quote verbatim from Perier's letters, he gives a summary of them, interpreting everything in the light of a general conspiracy. Father Le Petit, the Jesuit Superior in New Orleans, also writes in that vein,³⁴ de Rochemonteix, elsewhere so scrupulous in the use of the archives, was carried away by the grandiloquence of the Governor and based his narrative of the revolt on de Charlevoix and Le Petit.³⁵ For Dumont, Perier was the magnanimous hero,³⁶ and Le Page du Pratz merely follows Dumont.

In Louisiana, however, the story of the conspiracy was not generally believed, and we even find a mild doubt in the letter of Father Le Petit.³⁷ Diron, the Commandant at Mobile, says plainly that a general conspiracy never existed. De Loubois, he says, had delayed at the Tunicas, "to watch the movements of the Choctaws, wrongly thinking that there was a general conspiracy. It was in the interest of M. Perier to make people believe this, in order to cloak the reasons that led the Natchez to revolt."³⁸

³¹ Cf. the genesis of the idea in AC., C 13A, 12:300 v., (MPA., I, 117 ss); LHQ., IV, (1923), 358, Dec. 9, 1729. We did not find this letter in the Records of the Superior Council, New Orleans.

³² *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris*, XVI, n. s., (1924), 139; cf. *ibid.*, XI, n. s., (1919), 35 s.; XV, n. s., (1923) 224 ss., and XXIII, n. s., (1931), 329 ss., where the legend of the conspiracy is briefly but conclusively, we think, dealt with.

³³ Cf. Charlevoix, *op. cit.*, II, 473 ss., and AC., C 13A, 12:39; II, 476, and AC., C 13A, 12:300-305, (MPA., I, 117 ss.), etc., etc. De Villiers thinks he finds the cause for this defense of Perier by Charlevoix in the fact that Perier had been sent to the colony to carry out Charlevoix's plan of putting Jesuits in the posts where they would take the place of soldiers. *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris*, XXIII, n. s., (1931), 332. Much as we respect the scholarship of de Villiers, this is only an opinion which is not supported by documentary proof. Moreover, if Charlevoix approved of this plan he did not originate it.

³⁴ *Jes. Rel.*, 68:120 ss.

³⁵ *Les Jésuites et la Nouvelle-France au XVIII^e siècle*, Paris, 1906, I, 356 ss.

³⁶ Cf. *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris*, XXIII, n. s., (1931), 329.

³⁷ *Jes. Rel.*, 68:162.

³⁸ Diron to the Minister, AC., C 13A, 13:137:137; Gayarré, *op. cit.*, I, 269.

Nor did the French officials in Paris believe the fairy tales of Perier. Although Louisiana was still ruled by the Company of the Indies, this affair was serious enough to warrant the direct attention of the Comptroller-General,³⁹ who, in answering the letters of Perier of March 18 and April 1, 1730, wrote: "As for the various tribes that are near us, I see that some are stronger than others, such are, for instance, the Choctaws and the Chickasaws, and that the latter have been the authors of the conspiracy which was carried out by the Natchez and the Yazoos, *but as you give no proof of the general conspiracy which you claim had been entered upon by all the nations*⁴⁰ at the solicitation of the English,⁴¹ I can hardly persuade myself that there is any truth in the reproaches which you were told the Natchez hurled at the Choctaws.⁴² I believe on the contrary, that if there had been any ground [for such reproaches], the Choctaws would not have, as they did, marched with the French against the Natchez at the first word of LeSueur.⁴³

In Louisiana, public opinion put the blame on the Commandant of the Natchez Post. His tyranny and his exactions goaded the Natchez to fury. This Dechepare⁴⁴ was a creature of Perier. He ought to have been removed from his office, but "thanks to his intrigues and the support given him, he was kept in his post."⁴⁵ His misconduct,⁴⁶ and above all his attempt to seize the land of the Natchez and to drive the Indians out of their village precipitated the crisis. But the Commandant, though reviled by everybody, was following instructions. In an unsigned memoir,

³⁹ For the position of this official, cf. E. Lavisse, *Histoire Générale*, VI, 166; Montagne, *op. cit.*, 68.

⁴⁰ "The Natchez alone, numbering 5 or 600 warriors made the coup, although it is asserted that there was a general conspiracy of all the Indians to kill the French." BN., Mss. fr., n. a., 2551:23. Cf. AC., C 13A, 16:223 v. (MPA., III, 557) — Perier was very much offended at the incredulity of the Comptroller-General. He wrote to the Minister "I know that people have looked upon the general conspiracy of all the Indians to murder the French as a trumped-up tale, (un compte *(sic)* fait a plaisir) yet, my Lord, nothing is truer." AC., C 13A, 13:58v. (Italics in text ours).

⁴¹ On the share of the English, cf. Adair, *The History of the American Indians*..., London, 1775, 353-354, but as Swanton remarks (*Indian Tribes of the Lower Mississippi Valley*..., p. 223), Adair speaks of 1730, not of 1729.

⁴² Perier's Relation, AC., C 13A, 12:45; *Jes. Rel.*, 68:190.

⁴³ Draft of the Comptroller-General to Perier, AC., C 13A, 12:239; for the attitude of the Choctaws, cf. AC., C 13A, 12:116, (MPA., I, 81 ss.)

⁴⁴ The name is spelled: de Chepart, Dechepare, Deschepart, De Chopart, cf. MPA., I, 57, note 1; de Villiers, *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris*, XVI, n. s., (1924), p. 145, gives as the true form of the name D'Etchepare. However, there is in the Archives of the Superior Council, Cabildo, New Orleans, a petition for assignation dated May 25, 1725, bearing the autograph signature of the Commandant: DEchepare.

⁴⁵ Montagne, *op. cit.*, 114; cf. Le Page du Pratz, *op. cit.*, III, 231.

⁴⁶ AC., C 13A, 5:217; C 13C, 4:35; de Champigny, *Etat présent de la Louisiane*..., La Haye, 1776, 19.

dated January, 1731, we read: "Moreover, it is secretly maintained, that the cause of the Natchez massacre should not be imputed to the late Chepart alone . . . and that he was following written orders which some people are said to have read."⁴⁷ Elsewhere the accusation is more clearly formulated: "The reason which led the Natchez to perpetrate such a deed, is that M. Perier having the intention of beginning a plantation in their country in partnership with Dechepare . . . had asked him to drive out the Natchez . . . in order to take the land occupied by the Indians for their plantations."⁴⁸ Le Page du Pratz says that Dechepare had hoodwinked Perier into allowing his return to Natchez after he had been called to New Orleans to answer the deluge of complaints caused by his exactions;⁴⁹ and Father Le Petit softens the guilt of Dechepare still more,⁵⁰ probably because he saw that by accusing the officer, the blame would rebound on Perier. The Governor himself inveighs against the Commandant not because of his exactions, but because when forewarned of the impending revolt, Dechepare refused to listen to the warning and did not take the necessary measures to prevent it.⁵¹

There were now discordant notes in the concert of praise that had hailed Perier at the time of his arrival in Louisiana. The Governor had deteriorated, if he ever deserved the loud encomiums written about him when he took office at New Orleans.⁵² Without accepting fully the conclusion of Oudard,⁵³ one must agree with Schlarman⁵⁴ with regard to Perier's Indian policy. He wanted to rule the colony as he would have ruled marines on a man-of-war,⁵⁵ and he had become too much interested in developing his plantation across the River to the detriment of the general affairs of the Colony. "I fear," wrote the Comptroller-General, "that the plantation you were bent on developing as soon as you arrived in Louisiana, has taken so much of your time that it has prevented you from watching more closely over things

⁴⁷ Archives du Service Hydrographique, (ASH) 67, n. 16. This same grave accusation is found in d'Ausseville's memoir on Louisiana, 1732, Jan. 20, AC, C 13A, 14:230. We must add, however, that Councillor d'Ausseville was a bitter enemy of Perier. The Governor was doing all he could to prevent d'Ausseville from succeeding de la Chaise as ordonnateur. Cf. AC., C 13A, 12:254 v., and C 13A, 17:5 v.

⁴⁸ BN., Mss. fr., n. a., 2551:23; cf. A. Baillardel et A. Prioult, *Le Chevalier de Pradel, Vie d'un colon français au XVIIIe siècle*, Paris, 1928, p. 61.

⁴⁹ *Op. cit.*, III, 231; *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris*, XVI, n. s. (1924), 145.

⁵⁰ *Jes. Rel.*, 68:164; but cf. Father Vivier's letter, *Jes. Rel.*, 69:214.

⁵¹ AC., C 13A, 12:38.

⁵² AC, C 13A, 10:311, 321, 340; C 13C, 1:376 v.; *Jes. Rel.*, 67:268, 276, etc.

⁵³ *Four Cents an Acre*, New York, 1931, p. 182.

⁵⁴ *From Quebec to New Orleans*, Belleville, Ill., 1929, p. 244.

⁵⁵ AC., C 13A, 15:175 v.; C 13A, 17:5 v.

infinitely more important. Your private business should not, however, make you neglect public affairs."⁵⁶ In the letters and reports to the French Government voicing the discontent of the colonists with the Governor,⁵⁷ there were undoubtedly exaggerations and downright falsehoods. The habit of writing damaging letters with no other foundation than the jealousy of political and personal enemies was only too common in Louisiana during the French Period to accept on their face value all these accusations. But it is well-nigh impossible to excuse Perier's Indian policy. In this he was a complete failure.

His first letter to the Abbé Raguét, the ecclesiastic on the Board of Directors of the Company of the the Indies, has the following post-script: "The Indians, so difficult to manage, according to what people have said, have shown great satisfaction at my arrival. They have all come to sing the calumet for me. Several have told me in their harangues that M. de Bienville had deceived them, that they were glad he had not returned."⁵⁸ Perier's conceit was boundless. It was his self-confidence, fanned by the interested hyperbolic praise of his abilities by those around him, that prompted him to compare himself to his own advantage with Bienville, who in spite of his many shortcomings, knew from long experience better than anybody in the Mississippi Valley how to deal with the Indians.

Even the Natchez massacre did not teach the Governor caution. He is still proud of his knowledge of the Indian character,⁵⁹ and later he attempted to defend a new war he had launched against the powerful Chickasaws,⁶⁰ although everyone in the colony was against it.⁶¹ He engaged in a long controversy with Diron d'Artaguet, the Commandant of Mobile, about the policy to be adopted with the Choctaws, and called the chiefs of this tribe to New Orleans. This was strongly reprovved by the Comptroller-General for having thus shown the Indians "your weak point in having them come to the capital city of the colony, which is yet but a growing town, without fortifications, open on all sides.

⁵⁶ AC., C 13A, 12:351. After Perier's recall this plantation was sold, and as late as 1742, (AC., C 13A, 27:124), the official correspondence contains references to the difficulties his agent in Louisiana had in collecting the money from the buyers.

⁵⁷ AC., C 13A, 15:24.

⁵⁸ AC., C 13A, 10:212 v., in *MPA.*, I, 541 ss.

⁵⁹ AC., C 13A, 12:43 v. Cf. AC., C 13A, 13:58 v. "As for the Indians, I think I know them better than those who were here before me."

⁶⁰ AC., C 13A, 16:204 v.

⁶¹ AC., C 13A, 14:129 v., Gayarré, *op. cit.*, I, 283.

You have shown them unprotected plantations scattered along the River."⁶²

Nor did Perier rise in the estimation of the French Government by the manner in which the two punitive expeditions against the Natchez were conducted. The Natchez, with few casualties, escaped during the night of February 26, 1730. This first expedition was commanded by de Loubois who delayed at the Tunicas until January 27—two months after the massacre—and who only resolved to go up the River when he heard of Lesueur's vigorous attack on the Natchez.⁶³ The Indians went to the Washita River.⁶⁴ French reinforcements having arrived in the course of the year, Perier, this time, headed the expedition, with his brother as second in command.⁶⁵ On January 29, 1731, owing to the incapacity of the Governor,⁶⁶ the Natchez again escaped.⁶⁷ About 450 prisoners were taken, mostly women and children, the majority of the men having fled during the night.⁶⁸ Perier began by saying that twenty Natchez had managed to escape,⁶⁹ then he increased the number to one hundred,⁷⁰ "but M. Salmon in his private"⁷¹ letter of January 18, notifies us that he had learned from people living in the Illinois country (*dans les pays d'en haut*) that the Natchez still number from 250 to 300,⁷² and that having taken refuge among the Chickasaws, they could still seriously imperil the safety of the colony. All the other dispatches re-

⁶² AC., C 13A, 12:340.

⁶³ AC., C 13A, 12:372; Gayarré, *op. cit.*, I, 269.

⁶⁴ LHQ., VI, (1923), 553; *Jes. Rel.*, 68:218, 330, note 31.

⁶⁵ AC., B 43:909.

⁶⁶ ASH., 67, n. 16.

⁶⁷ A tragi-comedy took place after the second escape of the Natchez. When the news was brought to Perier that the Indians had escaped, he refused to believe it. He sent Baron de Cresnay to storm the fort. An officer meeting the charging battalion told the Baron to go at it unhesitatingly, that there were no more Natchez but only French soldiers in the fort. Near the fort, de Cresnay gave orders to pelt it with grenades, and only rescinded the order when de Benac, the French officer who had entered the fort, threatened to shoot him, if grenades were thrown among his soldiers, "which," says the chronicler, "put a stop to this new kind of war." BN., Mss. fr., n. a., 2551:113.

⁶⁸ ASH., 67, n. 16: 380 women and children, 19 negroes and 46 men. In a letter of an inhabitant of New Orleans, it is said that 450 prisoners arrived in the city, but that more than 400 were women and children. BN., Mss. fr., n. a., 2610:63-64 bis. Beauchamp, writing from Mobile says: "Only women and children were made prisoners and 45 men." AC., C 13A, 13:197. Most of them were shipped to S. Domingo there to be sold as slaves. BN., Mss., fr., n. a., 2551:113; 2610:63 v.

⁶⁹ AC., C 13A, 13:37, 16 men and 4 women.

⁷⁰ Perier had written to de Maurepas that 28 Natchez were in the neighborhood of Pointe Coupée, and that 72 had settled among the Chickasaws, (AC., C 13A, 14:70 v.). If the Minister of the Navy wanted precise information, he had all reasons to be satisfied when he saw these numbers, but cf., the answer of de Maurepas, AC., B 57:861 v.

⁷¹ The Minister is making a distinction between Salmon's private letter, dated January 18, 1732, (AC., C 13A, 15:24-26 v.), and the letter signed by Perier and Salmon, December 5, 1731, (AC., C 13A, 13:8-24 v.).

⁷² ASH., 67, n. 16 has 100 men, 60 women, plus 40 warriors who were hunting at the time of the siege, and 20 negroes.

ceived from the colony agree with what M. Salmon writes."⁷³ The "destroyed" Natchez continued to roam along the banks of the Mississippi until 1740,⁷⁴ when they finally settled among the Chickasaws and the Cherokees.

What has thus far been said is sufficient proof of the Governor's failure to deal successfully with the Indians in Louisiana. His order to massacre the Chaouachas,⁷⁵ an inoffensive tribe near New Orleans, argues cruelty, pure and simple. How could a handful of Indians—they numbered 30 warriors⁷⁶—terrorize the town?⁷⁷ It is hard to understand how this inexcusable massacre can be looked upon as a heroic deed and how one can consider it an example of Perier's energy.⁷⁸ The fierce way with which the Governor relates this exploit does not palliate his action, and if he thought he was magnanimous in *not* destroying the other little tribes along the Mississippi, such was not the view of the French Government. The Comptroller-General was horrified on reading this: "I absolutely cannot approve of your having ordered, on a slight suspicion, the destruction of the Chaouachas, a tribe numbering only 30 warriors. I even see with unbounded surprise your proposal to destroy the other small nations along the River from New Orleans to the sea, to free for us, so you say, the banks of the Mississippi."⁷⁹ I absolutely cannot give my consent to such a proposal, for it is acting against all the rules of good government and against those of humanity. What do you expect the natives will think when they witness the destruction of whole nations who have given you no offense? What confidence will they have in you? Is it not equivalent to forcing them to look upon the French as barbarians who must be driven out or

⁷³ AC., C 13A, 14:153. Extracts from the letters of Perier and Salmon with marginal annotations from the Minister. Those dispatches are found in AC., C 13A, 13:143 v., 157, 197; C 13A, 14:129 v.; C 13A, 15:46; C 13A, 16:62 v.

⁷⁴ AC., C 13A, 28:35 v. and 53.

⁷⁵ Cf. the account in BN., Mss. fr., n. a., 2551:25. Most of the men were out hunting when Tixerant, at the head of 80 negroes, destroyed the village killing the few men that were there and taking the women and children prisoners to New Orleans. When the Indians returned from their hunt, they came to New Orleans and asked the reason why they should have been so ill-treated, "M. Perier had none to give them"; he sent the Chaouachas back to their village with their women and children.

⁷⁶ Perier's *Relation*, AC., C 13A, 12:39 v. Father Raphael, in 1726, gives the census of the Chaouachas and Colas combined as "at the most 120 families," AC., C 13A, 10:44, (MPA., II, 515 ss). In 1729 the whole Chaouacha tribe numbered 15 huts. BN., Mss. fr., n. a., 2551:25.

⁷⁷ Perier's *Relation*, AC., C 13A, 12:40.

⁷⁸ de Rochemonteix, *op. cit.*, I, 357.

⁷⁹ This inhuman proposal of Perier is found in a ciphered letter dated August 1, 1730, AC., C 13A, 12:353 v.

massacred?"⁸⁰ Let Perier punish the guilty ones, "but that you should put to death innocent people, or at least people whose crime is not certain, I again repeat it, I absolutely cannot approve of it."⁸¹ Nor can the burning of the Natchez woman in New Orleans, in March, 1730, be approved of.⁸² The narrator says: "This scene is rather new on this continent, there is no example that a woman has ever been burned at the stake." The Indians tomahawked or sold as slaves captive women or children they did not want for themselves.

It is not surprising that when Louisiana was retroceded to the King, the first care of the French Government was to have Perier recalled and replaced by Bienville.

⁸⁰ Belletrus, in his memoir on Louisiana written toward 1749, speaking of the massacre of the Chaouachas, adds: "Our conduct in this occasion can only have given the Indians in general a very bad impression." BN., *Joly de Fleury*, 1726:11.

⁸¹ AC., C 13A, 12:342 v.

⁸² BN., Mss. fr., n. a., 2551:53; cf. Jes. Rel. 68:196.



THE TAËNSA INDIANS

THE FRENCH EXPLORERS AND CATHOLIC MISSIONARIES IN THE TAËNSA COUNTRY

BY

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VIDALIA, LOUISIANA

SECOND INSTALLMENT

(Continued from July, 1934, Quarterly)

III.

ARRIVAL OF THE CATHOLIC MISSIONARIES FROM CANADA

With the exception of the two visits of Tonti to the Taënsa our thread of their history is broken until the arrival in their country of the Catholic missionaries from Canada in January, 1699. This was shortly prior to Iberville's first arrival in French Louisiana, as he dropped anchor in the Bay of Biloxi about the middle of February, 1699.

In 1698 the Catholic Seminary of Quebec undertook the establishment of Catholic missions among the Indians at the Tamarois (in the Illinois country), and along the lower reaches of the Mississippi. At that time "The mission of the Immaculate Conception on the upper Illinois was the southernmost outpost of Christianity and civilization in the Mississippi Valley," says Monsignor Schlarman.

St. Vallier, second Bishop of Quebec, who claimed the whole valley of the Mississippi as a part of his diocese, authorized the establishment of these missions under the auspices of the Seminary, and by its secular clergy, in May, 1698. Some objection having been raised by the Society of Jesus (the Jesuits) who were also under the jurisdiction of the Bishop, he formally confirmed his previous authorization by letters of July 14, 1698; and this action also had the approval of Frontenac, Governor of Canada.

To found the new missions on the Mississippi, the Seminary selected Rev. Francis Jolliet de Montigny, Rev. Anthony Davion, and Rev. John Francis Buisson de Saint Côme (commonly called

St. Côme). DeMontigny was invested by the Bishop with the powers of Vicar General, he having been said to be "a man of vast designs and boundless zeal." All three were Recollects (*Récollets*), a branch of the Franciscan order. DeMontigny and Davion contributed from their own means 4,300 livres of the initial expense of the expedition which was 10,800 livres. This party started out "in the Ottawa Flotilla of 1698," says Shea. Monsignor Schlarman says that they set out from Quebec "on their long journey in canoe and on foot" on July 16th, 1698.³⁶

The history of this long and arduous voyage is preserved in the letters of St. Côme and Thaumur de la Source, which are published in full in Shea's *Early Voyages*.³⁷

ST. CÔSME'S LETTER

The letter of St. Côme to the Bishop is a thrilling detailed journal of the voyage from Michillimakinac, whence they left on September 14th, 1698, to the Arkansas, which was reached in mid-December. St. Côme says that at the commencement of the voyage at Makinac there were: "eight canoes, four for the river of the Miamis, with the Sieur de Vincennes, and we three canoes, and Mr. Tonti, who, as I have already told you in my last, had come to the resolution to accompany us as far as the Arkancas." On the way, he says, other canoes joined the party and left it enroute. He pays a high tribute to Tonti for his able assistance and protection, and an equally high tribute to his piety. When the party reached the Guardian Angel Mission, on the Chicago River, near the lake, St. Côme says that they "found there Rev. Father Pinet and Rev. Buinateau." "The waters were extremely low. We made a caché on the shore and took only what was absolutely necessary for our voyage, reserving till spring to send for the rest, and we left in charge of it Brother Alexander, who consented to remain there with Father Pinet's man, and we started from Chicaqw on the 29th (October)."³⁸ Father St. Côme's letter-journal concludes:

³⁶ This account of the founding of the Seminary Missions is drawn from: Shea (John Gilmary), 1st—*History of the Catholic Missions Among the Indian Tribes*, 1529-1854, N. Y. (1877), pp. 439-442; 2nd—*Shea's Catholic Church in Colonial Days*, N. Y., 1886, pp. 538-541; and 3rd—Schlarman (Msgr. J. H.), *From Quebec to New Orleans*, Belleville, Ill., 1929, pp. 26 (Note) and 110, 111, 131, 132. In Shea's *Catholic Church etc.*, the footnote on p. 539 reads: "Frontenac, by his Letters Patent, July 17, 1698, authorized Rev. Messrs. Montigny, Davion and St. Côme, to go to the Mississippi—Archives of the Propaganda. America Septentrionale, I, 1669-1791."

³⁷ Shea (John Gilmary), *Early Voyages Up and Down the Mississippi*, Albany, 1861. Special McDonough Ed., Albany, 1902.

³⁸ Shea, *Early Voyages*, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-75. Schlarman, *op. cit.*, pp. 135, 136.

"... We started on the 2nd of January (1699) and went to cabin at the mouth of the river (Arkansas) where the French who were going back would give us only one day to write. I expected to have more time to do it, hoping to go up from the Acanseas to the Illinois, but as we are going much further down, I am afraid that the letters that we write hereafter may not reach you this year, the opportunity being passed when we reached the Illinois. I therefore beg your grace to excuse me if this is somewhat ill digested . . ."³⁹

THAUMUR DE LA SOURCE'S LETTER

The letter of Thaumur de la Source is quite lengthy. He describes the voyage from the Arkansas, which they left on January 4th, 1699, to the village of the *Tonicas*, four leagues up the Yazoo River, which was reached on January 11th. They remained here eight days, where the Very Rev. de Montigny assigned Davion to the establishment of a mission. Pushing on from there, they reached the portage of the *Taënsas* on January 20th, and the *Taënsa* village on the next day. On the 27th of January, 1699, the party left the *Taënsas* and proceeded up the river, stopping again at the *Tonicas* and the *Arkansas*, and at the *Tamarois* (Illinois). Here St. Côme quitted the party to take charge of the mission which DeMontigny directed him to establish at that point. DeMontigny, with the rest of the party, proceeded on to Chicago, where they arrived on "Maundy Thursday;" and having retrieved their *cachéd* supplies, they again began the long journey southward on "Easter Monday," (1699).

While Thaumur de la Source was not a deacon, but one of the twelve *engagés* or hired men who joined the missionaries at Lachine, near Montreal,⁴⁰ though a different conclusion might be assumed from his letter, it is nevertheless interesting. Although there may be some inaccuracies in it we think it worth while to reproduce the letter at some length:

"This is to let you know that we have accomplished the *Akanseas* voyage, quite safely, thank God, and have descended within 200 leagues of the sea . . . Our gentlemen have drawn up a relation which they send to the Bishop . . . It will tell you all the adventures of the voyage. We arrived on the 17th of December (1698) at the *Arkansas* where we were well received . . .

³⁹ Shea, *Early Voyages*, op. cit., p. 74.

⁴⁰ Schlarman, op. cit., Note on p. 141.

"We set out on the 4th of January, with little provisions, expecting to find game as usual . . . On starting from the Akanseas we had rain for the space of five days, during which we made no progress. Our whole stock of provisions consisted of dried squash, and even of that we did not make half a meal . . . On the 11th. we arrived at the Tonicas, about sixty leagues below the Akanseas. The first village is four leagues from the Micippi inland on the bank of a quite pretty river; they are dispersed in little villages; they cover in all four leagues of country; they are about 260 cabins . . . Mr. Davion has established his mission in this place . . . We spent eight days in this village, and set out to go to the Taensas, who are twenty leagues lower down.

"We went to pass the night below the river on the bank of the Micissippi, where we caught their (the Tunicas) sickness by the great abundance of rain which lasted a long time, and it rained so violently for two days that we were obliged to make a bed for Mr. De Montigny on logs of wood. He was so sick that when he wished to get up he fainted every moment. We had nothing to eat but Indian corn boiled in water; a part of our people were hunting, weary and sick as they were. One of them got lost in the woods and slept out; (while) they were looking for him, I went hunting and killed some little game, but Mr. DeMontigny would not eat it. We started from this place, and when evening came we were all sick.

"The next day we arrived at the portage of the Taensas, which is a league long, where we slept. I had the fever as well as the rest of them. On the 21st. we arrived at the Taensas. It is a league by land and two by water. They are on the shore of a lake three leagues from the Micissippi. They are very humane and docile people. Their chief died not long before we arrived. It is their custom to put to death (many) on this account. They told us that they had put to death thirteen on the death of the one who died last. For this purpose, they put a root in the fire to burn, and when it is consumed they kill him with tomahawks. The Natchez who are twelve leagues lower down put men to death on the death of their chief . . .

"They," the Taënsa, "have a pretty large temple, with three columns well made, serpents and other like superstitions. The temple is encircled by an enclosure made like a wall, it is almost covered with skulls. They would not let us enter, saying that those who entered died. We entered half by force, half by consent. The girls and women are dressed like those I have mentioned before,

and even worse, for we saw some twenty five and thirty years old quite naked.

"We left there on the 27th (of January) to return to the *Tonicas*. Mr. de Montigny and Mr. de St. Côme resolved to go up together to bring down the things left at Chicagou where Brother Alexander had remained to guard them, because there was no water in the river of the Illinois. We brought only a canoe-load of absolute necessities, which we had to carry for the distance of fifteen leagues . . .

"In the rivers of the Acanseas and Tonicas, and in lake Taensas, the alligator is in so great numbers that you will see thirty together; he is the most frightful master fish that can be seen. He is made like a toad. I saw one that was as large as a half hogshead. There are some, they say, as large as a hogshead and twelve to fifteen feet long. I have no doubt they would swallow a man up if they caught him . . .

"Mr. de St. Côme is at the Tamarois, which is eight leagues from the Illinois . . . there are about 300 cabins there. We arrived on Maundy Thursday at Chicagou . . . Mr. de Montigny intended to see all the nations and go to the sea. Having learnt that three Frenchmen had been lately killed and we all being sick, he probably did not deem it proper. He is going to reside at the Taensas, about 100 leagues distant from the sea, and I even believe that he will go there . . . Mr. de Montigny inclines to put me at the Tamarois with Mr. de St Côme. It was supposed at the Outraois that Mr. Diberville had come by sea to the mouth of the Micissippi, but we have heard no tidings of him except what I have related above. We are to start from Chicagou on Easter Monday . . .

"The peach trees were in blossom at the Tonicas in the month of January. They are so plentiful in the village of the Taensas that they cut them down. There are also pearls which are very fine. I believe that they are precious, yet they pierce them to string them . . ."⁴¹

FATHER DE MONTIGNY'S LETTER

There is published in Shea's *Early Voyages* a letter from the Very Rev. Mr. Montigny which *as published is dated* "From the Akanseas, this *2nd January, 1699*"—italics mine. It is patent from the context of the letter, taken in connection with the fully authenticated date of the departure of the expedition from Quebec, and its arrival at and departure from the Arkansas, as re-

⁴¹ Shea, *Early Voyages*, op. cit., pp. 79-86.

corded by St. Côme and La Source, that it really bore some subsequent date. On January 2nd, 1699, according to St. Côme, the party was at the mouth of the Arkansas River. LaSource says they left there for the south on January 4th. De Montigny's letter shows that it was written after he had visited both the Tonicas and the Taënsa. As Father DeMontigny, so far as is known from recorded history, was the first white man to reside in what is now Tensas Parish, we reproduce his letter in full, rather than an excerpt. He says:⁴²

"We arrived safely among the nations that we sought after six months' navigation, which was not interrupted by winter. These nations have received us with a joy and a welcome that I cannot express, especially when they learned that we had come to stay among them. The first among whom we thought of establishing (a mission) are the *Tonicas*, who are sixty leagues lower down than the *Akanseas*. Mr. Davion has stationed himself there. The spot where he is, is quite fine. With some small villages of some other nations who are with them, they make about 2000 souls.

"About one day's journey lower down (that is to say 20 leagues), are the *Taensas*, who speak another language. They are only a short day's journey from the *Natchez*, who are of the same nation and speak the same language. For the present, I reside among the *Taensas*, but am to go shortly to the *Natchez*. This nation is very great and more numerous than the *Tonicas*. The *Taensas* are only about 700 souls.

"As for Mr. de St. Côme, he remains at the *Tamarouois*. The *Akanseas* would have greatly desired us to stay among them, but as they were not assembled in a single village (but scattered) which would have been too difficult to attend, we have advised them to assemble together so as to have a missionary. This they are going to do next spring, and they wish even to make us a house also to induce us to go and see them and to remain with them. These people are very mild, give a warm welcome and have a great esteem for the French; they are sedentary, cultivate the earth, living on nothing scarcely but Indian corn.

⁴² Shea, *Early Voyages*, op. cit., pp. 75-79. "Francis Jolliet de Montigny was born at Paris, but ordained at Quebec on March 8, 1698. After being Curé at St. Ange Gardien, and Director of the Ursulines, he was sent to the Mississippi in 1698, with the title of Vicar General. His right as such was apparently not recognized by the Jesuits with Iberville, and he seems not to have met any support in his missionary projects from that Canadian officer. He is said to have been Superior of the Seminary of Quebec from 1716 to 1719, and to have died in Paris in 1725, at the age of 64." Note in Shea's *History of the Catholic Missions*, p. 443.

"I often speak of the Tonicas and the Taensas and of those who are on the banks of the Micissippi going down to the sea, for far inland the Indians are in great numbers. They have rather fine temples, the walls of which are of mats. That of the Taensas has walls seven or eight feet thick on account of the great number of mats, one on another. They regard the Serpent as one of their divinities so far as I could see. They would not dare to accept or appropriate anything of the slightest consequence without taking it to the temple. When they receive anything it is with a kind of veneration that they turn towards the temple.

"They do not seem to be debauched in their lives. On account of the great heat the men go naked, and the women and girls are not well covered, and the girls up to the age of twelve years go entirely naked. They are so mild and have so much deference for what we told them, that I persuade myself that it will not be very difficult when I know their language a little to reform this abuse, which among them makes no impression, they being accustomed to it from childhood.

"They have also another abuse. When their chiefs are dead, as he has been more esteemed, the more persons they kill who offer themselves to die with him, and last year, when the chief of the Taensas died, there were twelve persons who offered to die and whom they tomahawked.

"There is never any winter among them, they do not know snow and have never seen it. There is always grass there and at the end of January, the peach and plum trees and violets were in blossom. I have seen about this time at the Taensas as great heats as in midsummer at Kebecq, and yet those who have spent the summer there affirm that it is not hotter than at Quebec.⁴³

"The soil is very good, the Indian corn grows sometimes twenty feet high, and a single grain will send out ten or twelve stalks almost as thick as your arm.⁴⁴ There are a great many herbs and plants and others which are unknown to us. If you have any wish to see the dress of our indians, we send one to Mr. Leuisen, who will show it to you. As we do not know the language, we have not yet

⁴³ This statement is probably made on the authority of Tonti who was there, with five other Frenchmen, in July, 1690.

⁴⁴ The good Father may have been mistaken and not exaggerating, as the Indians raised several different species of bread-making grain, which may have been indiscriminately designated "Indian Corn." Le Page Du Pratz, in his *Histoire de la Louisiane*, Paris, 1758, Tome II, pp. 58-59, describes several varieties of grain-bearing canes which were being grown by the Indians along the river, and one variety which grew in moist places to the height of 18 or 20 feet and "as large as the fists". . . "At the end of a certain numbers of years (these) bear grain in abundance. This grain which rather resembles oats, except that it is three times as thick and longer, is carefully gathered by the natives who make of it a bread or porridge. This meal swells up as much as that of wheat."

made any great conversions, nevertheless we have the consolation of having baptized several dying children and a very distinguished chief of the Tonicas, whom we instructed by interpreters. We were surprised to see such judgment in an Indian and dispositions as Christian as what he had. As he was *in extremis* we baptized him and gave him the name of Paul. He died the next day, after making acts of religion which greatly edified us.

"I beg you kindly to continue your good prayers for our missions, for I am persuaded and justly, that they it is that have obtained us a prosperous voyage. I salute all the community. I should have liked to write to several, but have not been able. I am more than I can tell, in our Lord—

DE MONTIGNY."

Dr. Swanton says that these missionaries—DeMontigny, Davion and St. Côme—on "January 4, 1698, left the Quapaw," Arkansas, "to visit the tribes below;" and quoting from Shea's *Early Voyages*, he has this: "On the 21st [January, 1698] we arrived at the *Taensa*." (Bracket Dr. Swanton's; all italics mine.)⁴⁵ Swanton's error in the year, 1698 instead of 1699, may be a mere inadvertence; or it may have been superinduced by the confusion resulting from the misdating, *as published*, of the DeMontigny letter in Shea, coupled with some unaccountable and misleading statements made in the letter of LaSource.

Be that as it may, DeMontigny returned to the south in the spring and early summer of 1699. Monsignor Schlarman, preliminary to the writing of his interesting book, *From Quebec to New Orleans*, spent several weeks examining original documents in the archives of the old Seminaire de Quebec, where there are some unpublished letters of De Montigny and St. Côme, and he quotes from a letter of DeMontigny's of which the date is not given:⁴⁶

"The fourth of May (1699) I left the Illinois (probably Peoria on the Illinois), the Rev. Father Binneteau having joined us fifteen or twenty leagues further down and we traveled together as far as the tamarois . . .

"May 14th we arrived among the tamarois, where we found monsieur de saint côme busy finishing his church . . ."

⁴⁵ Swanton, *op. cit.*, pp. 189, 264.

⁴⁶ Schlarman, *op. cit.*, pp. 144, 145.

Monsignor Schlarman further says:

"Taschereau states that the second contingent 'was accompanied by three *frères donnés*, who should be their coadjutors, and two blacksmiths, supplied with the most necessary instruments, and who should help the carpenters, brought by M. Montigny, to build chapels and houses . . .'"⁴⁷

At the 15th. Congress of Americanists, held in Quebec in 1906, M. l'abbé Amédée Gosselin of Laval University—now Monsignor Gosselin, Rector of the University—read a paper entitled: *Les Sauvages du Mississippi (1698-1708) d'après la Correspondance des Missionnaires des Missions Étrangères de Québec*.⁴⁸ Swanton states that the information it contained was drawn partly from the documents published by Shea, "but in greater part from letters which still remain in manuscript, as they were sent by the missionary priests to their superior, the Bishop of Quebec. From these most valuable information is adduced . . . It is to be hoped that the whole of these important manuscripts will soon be given to the public . . ."⁴⁹

This writer has not had the benefit of Msgr. Gosselin's paper further than as obtained from Swanton; but it appears that De Montigny had heard of the arrival of the French at Biloxi and continued his second voyage southward, in the early summer of 1699, on down the river and over to Biloxi.

Swanton quotes from Gosselin the following excerpt from the *unpublished* letter of De Montigny of August 25th, 1699, written, according to Schlarman, from "*des taensas*":

" . . . The 12th (of June) we reached Natchez, or as others call them Challaouelles, who are almost twenty leagues from the Taënsas . . . They were warring at that time with almost all the nations which are on the Mississippi . . . and out of consideration for us, although they were at war with the Taënsas, they gave those (Taënsa) who were with us a very good reception. We told the chief that the black robes, like ourselves, were not warriors, that we had not come to see them in that spirit, and that on the contrary, we exhorted everyone to peace, that they would know it well one day when I should know their language, which is

⁴⁷ Schlarman, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

⁴⁸ This paper was published in *Compte Rendu Cong. Internat. des Amer.*, 15th Sess., I, 51-51.

⁴⁹ Swanton, *op. cit.*, pp. 21, 22.

the same as that of the Taensas, (*qui est la même que celle des Taënsas*) and then after having made them some little presents we separated very well satisfied with each other."⁵⁰

It is pretty evident that this visit to the Natchez, the 12th of June, was DeMontigny's first visit there, as he was enroute to Biloxi, which he reached on July 1, 1699.

As to this, we have the following from Bernard de la Harpe:⁵¹

"On the 1st. of July (1699), two bark canoes from the Illinois arrived at Biloxi, bringing M. M. de Montagny (Montigny) and Davion, Missionaries, who had learned from the Houmas that there were some French settled on the sea-shore. On the 11th, these missionaries departed from Biloxi to take possession of the mission house of the Tonicas on the Yazoo River;"

and their arrival at Biloxi, etc., is also spoken of by *Sauvole* in his Historical Journal dated "Fait Au Fort Biloxi, ce 1er Avril, 1700."⁵²

In his letter of August 25, 1699, DeMontigny, as quoted by Swanton from Gosselin, said concerning the Natchez-Taënsa war:

"A magnificent reception was accorded them," the Natchez, "after which they were conducted to the door of the temple, where the chiefs of the nation were assembled. There the accustomed ceremonies were gone through with. Then the presents of the Natchez deputies were brought into the temple. This offering consisted of six muskrat blankets, very well worked. And the peace was concluded. In order to close the ceremony, the old man who had the care of the temple ascended a slight elevation and addressed his words sometimes to the spirit, sometimes to those present, exhorting the two nations to forget the past and live in an inviolate peace."⁵³

St. Côme remained only a short time in charge of the Tamoraïs Mission, and then came down to take charge of the mission at the Natchez. One of the excerpts from his unpublished letter of August 1st, 1701, as quoted by Swanton from Gosselin, reads:

⁵⁰ Swanton, *op. cit.*, pp. 21, 22.

⁵¹ Bernard de la Harpe's *Journal Historique* (1723) in French, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, 1851, pp. 9-118 (16); also Swanton, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

⁵² Sauvole's *Journal* in French, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 224-240 (227).

⁵³ Swanton, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

"I have passed the winter among the Natchez; I have applied myself a little to the language, and I find myself in a position to compose something of the chatecism and prayers. I have made a journey to the Tahensas, distant 12 leagues from the Natchez. As that village is much diminished, I think no missionary will be needed there, since it now numbers only about 40 cabins, but it is necessary to try to draw them to the Natchez, the languages being the same (*n'étant que d'une même langue*) . . ."⁵⁴

Father DeMontigny, leaving Biloxi on July 11th, 1699, evidently arrived at the Taënsa late in that month or early in August, and wrote from there his letter of August 25th. When Iberville first visited the Taënsa on the morning of March 14, 1700, he found there "M. De Montigny, the missionary, who has two Frenchmen with him. He has had a house built there and is preparing to build a church." When Iberville left the Taensas on March 22nd, he was accompanied by DeMontigny, with all of his effects. The Reverend de Montigny had decided to establish himself at the Natchez, instead; but he soon repaired to Biloxi and accompanied Iberville to France.

As this writer sees it, Father DeMontigny's residence with the Taënsa, in what is now Tensas Parish, covered the period from about August 1st, 1699 to March 22nd, 1700. It would be a source of great satisfaction to me to be able to give in this paper a connected account of De Montigny's sojourn with the Taënsa, which the unpublished letters would most probably afford, and which are said to be in the archives of the old Seminary of Quebec.

In April 1933, the author wrote Monsignor Amédée Gosselin at Laval University, making some inquiries of him concerning these unpublished letters, and whether it would be possible to obtain photostats of them, or copied extracts relating to deMontigny's sojourn at the Taënsa. Monsignor Gosselin replied very promptly, stating that he would be very glad to answer my questions fully, so soon as he should be able to resume work; but that he was just recovering from a severe illness, which had confined him in the hospital for three months. He stated that he

⁵⁴ Swanton, *op. cit.*, p. 22. There was also a younger St. Côme who had theretofore been at the Natchez. "John Francis Buisson, of a family originally from St. Côme-le-Vert, was baptized at Pointe Levi, Feb. 6, 1687; he was ordained in 1690"—Note in Shea's *Catholic Missionaries*, p. 444. St. Côme was murdered by the Chitimacha Indians opposite Donaldsonville, Louisiana, in 1706—Claiborne's *Mississippi*, p. 23.

wished to assure me in the meantime that there was a great error in LaSource, and cited me to the work of Schlarman—"En attendant, je puis vous asseuer que l'abbé La Source est une grosse erreur. Le La Source était un engagé: voyez l'ouviage de Mgr. J. H. Schlarman, From Quebec to New Orleans, p. 141, note."*

While many better informed and more able pens than mine have paid adequate and glowing tribute to America's pioneer Catholic missionaries, both French and Spanish, may I not be permitted to say that to them, in large part, are we indebted for much of our knowledge of primitive American history. They were explorers as well as the messengers of Christianity to the savages. Being men of learning, and of that inclination and training, they left to us their chronicles. They penetrated hundreds of miles up and down unknown rivers and through trackless forests, often alone or in small parties, exposed to innumerable dangers from hostile and warring Indian tribes, wild beasts, and the elements. They suffered the hardships of hunger, heat, and cold, and the loneliness of long separation from their kind. Many of them were put to the torture and suffered death. In their little Indian missions, far from the scattered and feeble early white settlements, they acted as unofficial liaison officers between the Indians and the civil and military authorities who were seeking a foothold in their habitats. Untiring and indefatigable in their efforts and zeal; clad in the armor of their faith; their weapons the crucifix and the rosary!

Of such, among a host of others, were Zenobius Membré, Marquette, De Montigny, Davion, St. Côme, and Gravier.

* The writer has heard nothing further from Msgr. Gosselin. Since the preparation of this paper, through the courtesy of Mr. Robert Usher, of Howard Memorial Library, New Orleans, we have had the benefit of the Gosselin paper, referred to *ante*. It contains no additional information regarding the Taënsa, and nothing contrary to what we have written. Gosselin notes that St. Côme's original letter, dated Jan. 2, 1699, is still in the Seminary archives, and he says that Shea's translation of it does not do justice to the original. The unpublished letters to which the Gosselin paper refers, and which are in the Seminary archives are: DeMontigny, Aug. 25, 1699; M. Bergier's dated: June 14, 1700, April 13, 1701, March 13, 1702 and June 15, 1702; St. Côme's dated: Aug. 1, 1701, Dec. 7, 1701, Apr. 19, 1702 and Jan. 8, 1706; and M. de la Vente's dated: Oct. 21, 1702, Sept. 20, 1704, July 4, 1708 and July 8, 1708.

According to Mrs. M. F. Surrey's Calendar of Documents, there is in the Library of Congress, in manuscript, *Report of a Conversation by DeLisle with DeMontigny* on May 6, 1699, the reference on this being: "May 6, 1699, A. S. H., 115-110; No. 13 (L. C.) DeMontigny-Report of Conversation by DeLisle." I have not had the benefit of this.

IV.

IBERVILLE AND BIENVILLE VISIT THE TAENSA

On the 27th of February, 1699, Iberville and Bienville embarked at the Bay of Biloxi in two feluccas, with thirty men each, to explore the mouth of the Mississippi. They were accompanied by Father Anastasie, who had been with LaSalle in his voyage down the river in 1682. Though Father Anastasie was certain they were in the Mississippi, which they entered on March 2nd, Iberville and Bienville remained in doubt until they reached the Bayagoula village on March 14th. Here, while looking for Father Anastasie's breviary, they found several prayer books, in an Indian blanket, in which were written the names of several Canadians who had accompanied LaSalle down the river, together with a letter addressed to LaSalle and left there for him by the Chevalier de Tonty in 1686. The party cruised on up stream as far as the Houma village, which was situated on the east side of the river about opposite the mouth of Red River. Iberville voyaged no further north. Descending to the mouth of the Iberville, after directing Bienville to proceed on down the river to the Gulf and across to Biloxi, Iberville entered that stream and made his way back to Ship Island by way of the lakes.⁵⁵

While they were at the Houma Village, Iberville met a Taensa who gave him information about the tribes further up the river. He was told by this Indian that there were seven Taensa villages, known as: *Taënsas*, *Ohytoucoulas*, *Nyhougoulas*, *Couthaougoula*, *Conchayon*, *Talaspas*, and *Chaoucoulas*.⁵⁶

Iberville and Bienville again entered the river on the 15th. of January, 1700, and a few days later they commenced the building of the fort, "on a high ridge of land, about eighteen leagues from the sea." Here, they were joined on the 16th of February by Tonti, who had come down from Canada in a pirogue to discover whether any settlements had been made. During March, 1700, Iberville, Bienville, Tonti, and Saint Denis, who afterwards founded Natchitoches, ascended the river as far as the Taensa. The expedition arrived at the Natchez on March 11th.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ This account drawn from De la Harpe's *Journal Historique*, in French *op. cit.*, Vol. 2 (1851), pp. 13, 14, 15.

⁵⁶ Swanton, *op. cit.*, pp. 189, 258, 274, 285, 286.

⁵⁷ De la Harpe's *Journal*, in French *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, 1851, pp. 17 and 18; Margry, *Découvertes*, IV, 410, 412; Swanton, *op. cit.*, pp. 190, 191.

Leaving Bienville there to gather supplies for an expedition by land to the *Cenis* (Yatase nation on Red River), Iberville embarked in a canoe on the morning of the 12th. to go up to the Taënsa; he reached the Taënsa village on the morning of the 14th of March, and there found de Montigny, as before stated. In the meantime, Bienville had joined him and they witnessed the burning of the Taënsa temple by a stroke of lightning.

On the 22nd of March, after seeing his brother and Saint Denis off on their tour of the interior, Iberville and DeMontigny left for the Natchez. This interesting story, though lengthy, should be told in Iberville's own words, the version being Margry's as given by Swanton:

"... The 12th (of March), at 6 o'clock in the morning, I left in a bark canoe with six men to go to the Taënsas, in order to prepare everything to go by land to the *Cenis*, leaving my brother with the rest of his people among the *Nadchés* to prepare corn flour for the journey, where it is made more conveniently than among the Taënsas. I now made about $8\frac{3}{4}$ leagues, and passed two islands about half a league long.

"The country is like that which I have already passed, quite beautiful, which is flooded almost everywhere, as I saw on the bank of the river in passing. There are fewer canes than among the Oumas and the *Nadchés*.

"The 13th I continued to ascend the river, finding the same country as the day before, the river straighter. At midday (March 13, 1700) I reached the landing place of the Taënsas, six leagues and three-quarters from my sleeping place, where I left my canoe and baggage and two men to guard it, and went on with four to reach a little lake where one takes canoes to go to the village. My guides got lost and were unable to reach this lake. We were obliged to sleep in the open air without supper, having brought with us nothing but our arms. I found that from the landing place of the *Nadchés* to this of the Taënsas, following the river, is about $15\frac{1}{2}$ leagues, and in a straight line from one landing to another, I found the rhumb line east-north, a quarter from the northeast, taking $1^{\circ} 15'$ from the north, and the distance to be $11\frac{1}{4}$ leagues. I found the landing place of the Taënsas to be about $32^{\circ} 47'$ north.

"The morning of the 14th we reached the border of the lake, where we found four savages who brought us canoes, having heard our shots. We made on the lake about two

leagues, and we arrived at the village at noon, where I found M. de Montigny, the missionary, who has two Frenchmen with him. He has had a house built there and is preparing to build a church. There may be in this nation 150 cabins in the space of two leagues, on the edge of the lake.

"There is in this place a fairly handsome temple. This nation has been numerous formerly, but at present there are not more than 300 men. They have very large wastes and a very fine country, which is never inundated, on the borders of this lake, which may be a fourth of a league broad and 4- $\frac{1}{2}$ leagues long, coming from the northeast and making a turn to the west. The main part of this village is about two leagues from the end, coming from the Mississippi river and opposite a little (inlet) or stream about a hundred paces wide, on the banks of which are some cabins of the savages.

"The 16th and 17th it rained and thundered much; the night of the 16th or the 17th a thunderbolt fell on the temple of the Taënsas and set fire to it, which burned it entirely. The savages, to appease the spirit, who they said was angry, threw *five* little children in swaddling clothes into the fire of the temple. They would have thrown in many others had not three Frenchmen run thither and prevented them. And old man of about 65 years, who appeared to be the principal priest, was near the fire, crying in a loud voice: "Women bring your children to sacrifice them to the Spirit in order to appease him," a thing which five of these women did, bringing to him their children, whom he took and threw into the midst of the flames. The action of these women was regarded by them as one of the finest one could make, so that they followed this old man, who led them with ceremony to the cabin of the one who was going to be made chief of the nation, for the chief had died a short time before.

"They had the custom, at the death of their chief, of killing 15 or 20 men or women to accompany him, say they, in the other world and serve him. Many, according to what is said, are enchanted to be of this number. I doubt it very much. The old man of whom I spoke above said that the Spirit was angry because at the death of the last chief no one had been killed to accompany him, and that he was angry himself, so that he had had the temple burned, accusing the French that it was they who had been the cause of this misfortune, because M. de Montigny, being at the village at the time of the death of this chief, had prevented them from killing any one, at which all the people in the nation appeared very well satisfied except the grand priest.

"These women, sanctified and consecrated to the spirit through the action which they had performed—this is how many of these savages name it—being led to the house of the heir to the crown, were caressed, much praised by the old people, and each one was clothed in a white garment, which they make of mulberry (*?meurier*) bark, and had a great feather placed on the head of each, and appeared all day at the entrance of the chief's cabin, seated on cane mats, intending this cabin to serve as a temple, where the fire was lighted as they are accustomed to do. All night of the 18th to the 19th and 20th these women and this old man passed to sing in the cabin of the new chief, and in the day time they remained at the sides of the doorway, in sight of all passers . . .

"About 6 o'clock on the evening (of the 20th) the high priest of the savages continued to perform a ceremony before the new temple, which he did every day since the other was burned, which ceremony lasted eight days in succession. Three young people of about twenty years brought each a bundle of branches of dry wood, which they put before the door of the temple at a distance of ten paces. A man about 50 years old who had the guardianship of this temple, came with a reed torch and arranged this wood, one piece upon another to make it burn easily. After that he went into the temple to light his torch at the fire which always burns there, and came out near the bundle of wood, where the high priest, who was thirty paces from there at the door of the cabin of the chief, seeing him, came with a sedate step, holding a rather large feather pillow covered with leather in his left hand, and a little baton in his right, with which he struck on the pillow as if to mark the cadence of a song which he was singing.

"He was followed by the five women who had thrown their infants into the fire of the temple, who carried in both hands a cluster of wet moss, which in that country is like tow. Having arrived near the bundle of wood, the one who had set it on fire and the old man, with the women, made the circuit of it three times, singing continually, after which they threw themselves on the fire, striking on it with their wet moss in order to extinguish it. Having done this, the old man returned, and they went to bathe themselves in the lake before all who wished to look at them, and came back to the cabin of the chief, where, together with the old man, they sang all night during the eight days. Some of these women, walking around this fire, wished to laugh and to say something, for which the old man reproved them severely.

"The 21st it rained a part of the day; my brother was not able to set out (for the Caddoan country). I repaired to my canoes, whither I had all the effects of M. de Montigny carried, who is coming to establish himself with the Nadchés without abandoning the Taënsas, where he is going to place a missionary whom he expects from Canada.

"The 22nd M. de Montigny joined me at noon, having seen my brother set out at 8 o'clock in the morning with a Shawnee, a Ouachita, who is his guide, and six Taënsas, whom he had had given him to aid him in carrying his baggage."⁵³

On account of the schism between the Seminarists of Quebec and the Jesuits, which had persisted and grown more pronounced, the Very Reverend Mr. Montigny found his position so embarrassing and unpleasant that he determined to undertake its satisfactory adjustment in France. Accordingly, he left the Natchez shortly after Iberville, and arrived at Biloxi on May 19, 1700; on May 27th he sailed with Iberville for France.

Jean Pénicaud, sometimes referred to as Perricaud or Pericaud, a ship's carpenter and whilom Louisiana historian (1698-1722), accompanied Iberville on this Taënsa expedition. He gives us an account of the burning of the temple, and of the sacrifice of the infants. Pénicaud, like many of this day, delights in making more sensational that which is already astounding. His account, alone, is reproduced in some of our histories, i. e., Claiborne's *Mississippi* and Chambers' *Louisiana*; and this writer, taking these two historians as safe guides, used the Pénicaud account in his History of Concordia Parish. The narrative of Pénicaud follows:

"Eight leagues higher up, one finds the Grand Gulf, which we passed, and two gun-shots distance higher up on the left we set foot to earth to go to a village which is in the interior 4 leagues from the bank of the river. These savages are called Tinsas. We were very well received there but I have never seen a sadder and at the same time more frightful spectacle than that which happened the second day we were at this village. Suddenly a terrible storm arose; a thunderbolt fell on their temple, burning all their idols and reduced their temple to ashes.

"Immediately these savages ran towards their temple, making terrible howls, tearing their hair, and elevating their arms. With faces turned toward their temple they

⁵³ Margry, *Découvertes*, IV, 412-417; Swanton, *op. cit.*, pp. 266-268.

invoked their great Spirit, crying like people possessed, for him to extinguish the fire; then they took earth with which they rubbed their bodies and faces. The fathers and mothers brought their children and, after having strangled them, they threw them into the fire. M. d'Iberville was horrified at such a cruel spectacle, and commanded to stop this frightful spectacle and snatch the little innocents from them, which did not prevent them in spite of all our efforts, from throwing *seventeen* into the fire, and if we had not prevented it they would have thrown in more than 200.

"At the end of three days, during which they sang their calumet of peace, M. d'Iberville made them a present more considerable than he had given to the others and told them to abandon this place in order to come and establish themselves on the bank of the Mississippi; and seeing that the time approached for him to return to France, and that the other nations were too distant, he determined to descend the river again."⁵⁹

V.

BIENVILLE GOES INTO THE INTERIOR

As one of the objects of this paper is to bring out more clearly the movements of the early French explorers in northeast Louisiana (the Taënsa country), we think it not amiss to follow Bienville for some distance into the interior on the journey on which Iberville had wished him Godspeed at the Taënsa on March 22, 1700.

In her biography of Bienville, the late Miss Grace King gives us an account of this overland trip from Lake Saint Joseph to the Natchitoches on Red River; thence up that river for some distance towards the country of the Caddos; and thence down Red River in pirogues to some point above the mouth of the Red, where the great man portaged from that stream across to the Mississippi, and down the Mississippi to the fort. This trip lasted from the 22nd of March to the 18th of May, 1700. Her relation of it is mainly from the fragment of Bienville's journal. We find that the country through which he passed was practically all overflowed; and this journal furnishes us one instance of the

⁵⁹ Margry, *Découvertes*, V. pp. 397, 398; Swanton, *op. cit.*, p. 268; Claiborne, *Mississippi*, p. 26; Chambers (Henry E.) *History of Louisiana*, I. p. 62. For a biographical sketch of Pénicaut, with estimate of his historical work, see Alcée Fortier's *Louisiana* (Cyclopedie), II, 299.

dogged determination of the man and his insensibility to personal inconvenience and hardship. We find him complaining, as it were, of his shortness of stature, when he says "I see some of my men with water only up to their waists, while I and others are nearly swimming, pushing our bundles before us on rafts, to keep from getting wet."

But it will be more satisfactory to quote from Miss King that part of the journal which covers the trip from the Taënsa village to that of the Ouachitas. Bienville says:

"On the 22nd of March I left the village at nine o'clock in the morning, with twenty-two Canadians, six Tensas, and one Ouachita. I marched all day in an overflowed country, the water half way up the leg, or to the knees. In the evening I arrived at the bank of a little river about seventy paces wide and very deep, four and a half leagues distant, to the west, from the Tensas. I found there some Ouachitas, with several pirogues partly loaded with salt. They were abandoning their village to go and live with the Tensas. They had come from their home by little rivers navigable only in high water.

"23. In the morning I crossed the river in the pirogue of the Indians. A half league from there, towards the west, I came to a river thirty paces wide, running north and south, which I had a great deal of trouble in crossing, not finding wood to make rafts on which to cross the baggage. . . . The rain drove us to camp early. The Tensas deserted on account of the bad roads and cold weather; they do not like walking naked through the water.

"24th. We set out at sunrise, the weather pretty cold. Three-quarters of a league towards the west I came to two little rivers, which we crossed on trees that we threw over from one side to the other. Two leagues from there, we came to a beautiful dry prairie, and at the end of which was a river about forty paces wide, with a strong current and full of crocodiles. We crossed it with rafts . . .

"25th . . . Marched all day through woods, prairies and savannas, always without intermission, in water up to the knees, waist and sometimes the neck. A man of medium height is at great disadvantage in such countries. I see some of my men with the water only up to their waists, while I and others are nearly swimming, pushing our bundles before us on rafts, to keep from getting wet. I camped at five o'clock in the evening, later than we wished, not finding any dry land except on the edge of a prairie, where there seemed to be good hunting, and where my men killed a beef.

"26th. Remained in this good hunting place, where my men killed three deer and twelve turkeys, very fat. The 'bloody flux' attacked two of the men.

"27th. Set out in the morning, leaving at the camp two sick men and a comrade to take care of them. A half league from the camp came to a river thirty-five paces wide. Crossed it with rafts. Two leagues from that river we came to another one twenty-five paces wide, which we also crossed. A quarter of a league from this river we came to a swamp a quarter of a league wide, which we crossed as we did the river. The water was very cold. We camped near by, on the border of a little lake. I calculate that we have made today four leagues, west-southwest, and are very tired.

"28th-Sunday. I arrived at the village of the Ouachitas. After having gone two leagues and a half towards the west, we swam across a swamp five hundred paces broad, and traversed several prairies separated by strips of forest, and came to the village of the Ouachitas. This village is on the banks of the *River Marne*, or *Sablonnière* (Red River), or rather on a branch of it. There are no more than five cabins there, and about seventy men. The river in this place (the Ouachita) may be about one hundred and eighty paces wide, and with as much current as the Mississippi. It seems to be deep . . . It rained all day . . ."⁶⁰

For our purposes, it is unnecessary to quote the journal further, but it appears that the hardships of the journey and the illness of the men increased with every league. It is impossible, of course, to trace Bienville's route accurately; but the general course of this part of it was west-southwest. To hazard a guess, we would say that he crossed the Tensas River somewhere in the neighborhood of Greenville, Catahoula Parish, and struck the Ouachita somewhere between Harrisonburg and Jonesville, in the low country. He must have crossed over through the section south of the Sicily Islands highlands, as he mentions no hill country or high lands anywhere in the journey between Lake Saint Joseph and Red River. As he does not mention the confluence of the three rivers at Jonesville, it is quite evident that Bienville crossed the Ouachita above that point; and probably the route from there to Red River was south of Catahoula lake, as he does not mention the lake.

⁶⁰ King, Miss Grace, *Sieur De Bienville*, N. Y., 1892. pp. 100-108.

It will be found that the route which I have propounded is in accord with that traced on John Senex's English map of 1722, which is a copy of the French map of DeLisle of 1718.⁶¹

Miss King further says: "His journal is a fragment, a third of it, the last part, being undecipherable from damage by water;" and again she says that "from the time he began the descent of Red river, the journal is unintelligible." We do not know at what point Bienville crossed over from the Red to the Mississippi, but, in all probability, it was in the neighborhood of Shaw, in Concordia Parish, where the two rivers are only two miles apart, and which is a considerable distance north of the point of their confluence.

VI.

FATHER JAMES GRAVIER'S JOURNAL⁶²

There is a very interesting fifty-page journal by Father James Gravier, of the Society of Jesus (Jesuit), of his voyage down the Mississippi in the fall of 1700. His journey began at *Chikagou* on the 8th of September, and he reached the "Fort of the Mississippi, seventeen leagues from its mouth," on December 17th, 1700. The journal is in the form of a letter addressed to Father Delamberville, and we incorporate a portion of it relating to the *Tounika*, and that part concerning the Taënsa, and a portion which relates to the Natchez. The good Father reached "the river of the Tounika (Yazoo) on the 14th of November;" and he continues:⁶³

"... I left the five canoes of the French at the mouth ... I embarked in my canoe to go and visit Mr. Davion, missionary priest, who was sick; I left my canoe four leagues from the river (Mississippi) at the foot of a hill where there are five cabins. The road which is two leagues by land is quite pretty ... They have one small temple raised on a mound of earth. They never enter it Mr. Davion told me, except when going to or returning from

⁶¹ Senex's map is dedicated to William Law of Lawreston, an elder brother of John Law. Through the courtesy of Mr. John A. Green, of Sicily Island, La., and Washington, D. C., the writer has a photostat of this map from Map Dept. Library of Cong., and also of the other maps referred to in this paper. This map is a beautiful specimen of cartography. A copy of the DeLisle map may be found in French, *op. cit.*, Vol. II.

⁶² Father James Gravier, Jesuit, native of Languedoc, was at the Illinois Mission from 1687 to 1706; he was severely wounded by Peoria Indians—Note in *Early Voyages*, p. 115. Appointed Vicar of the Illinois in 1690—*The Catholic Ch. Col. Days*, p. 535.

⁶³ Shea, *Early Voyages*, *op. cit.*, 115, 163.

war and do not make all the howlings of the Taensa and Natchez when they pass in front of their temples, where there is always an old man who maintains a fire . . .

" . . . Mr. St. Côme having learned that Mr. Davion was in *extremis* had arrived from the mission of the Natches . . . The Natches, Mr. de St. Côme assured me, are far from being as docile as the Tounika. They practice polygamy, steal and are very vicious, the girls and women more than the men and boys, among whom there is much to reform before anything can be expected of them. The Taensas who speak the same language, have the same habits also.⁶⁴ Their village is twenty leagues from the village of the Tounika. It is four leagues inland. After one league's march, you come to a lake where there are always a number of alligators. It must be crossed in a canoe to reach the village, which is more close set than that of the Tounika. The temple having been reduced to ashes last year by lightning, which fell on a matter as combustible as the canes with which it is thatched, the old man who is its guardian, said that the spirit was incensed because no one was put to death on the decease of the last chief, and that it was necessary to appease him.

"Five women had the cruelty to cast their children into the fire, in sight of the French who recounted it to me, or rather gave them to the old man who cast them into the fire while making his invocations and chanting with these women during the cruel ceremony, and but for the French there would have been a great many more children burnt. The chief's cabin having been converted into a temple, the five unnatural mothers were borne to it in triumph as five heroines.

"At the point of the turn where the village is, the river is not over an arpent and a half wide, and forms a strait, where it is very difficult to stem the current; and it is here that M. de la Salle says there is a whirlpool where the trees plunge in root up and come out only a half a league lower down. I did not perceive this; perhaps it occurred only when he passed, or is seen only from time to time. After meeting with heavy rains, which would have inundated all our baggage by night, had I slept as soundly as our canoe men, we had pretty fair weather to reach the Natchez, south of the Taensas, from whom they are only twelve leagues distant . . ."

⁶⁴ Nearly all of the early French writers confine themselves to an exposition of the religion, government, warfare, character, manners and customs of the Natches, but there is frequent reference to the fact that those of the Taënsa were the same, so that a more complete knowledge of the Taënsa in these respects may be obtained from analogous reading. This entry into the field of ethnology is beyond the scope of this paper, but it may be pursued in the writings of Charlevoix, LePetit, DuPratz, Pénicaut and others, and in the comprehensive treatise of Swanton, which is drawn largely from these sources.

After describing his visit to the Natchez, Father Gravier says further of them:

"The Frenchman whom M. d'Iberville left there to learn the language, told me that on the death of the last chief, they put to death two women, three men and three children . . . There were only seven for the great chief who died one month before. His wife, better advised than the others, did not wish to follow him, and began to weep when they wished to oblige her to accompany her husband. Mr. de Montigny who has left this country to go to Siam, being informed of what they were accustomed to do, made them promise not to put any one to death. As a pledge of their word, they gave him a little female slave whom they had resolved to put to death but for his prohibition; but to keep their cursed custom without its being perceived, the chief's wife, whom they call Ouachil Tamail, fun-woman (who is always the sister and not the wife of the great chief) persuaded him to retire to a distant village so as not to have his head split with the noise they would make in a ceremony where all were to take part. Mr. de Montigny, not suspecting anything, believed her and withdrew, but in his absence they put to death those whom they believed to be necessary to go to cook and wait on the chief in the other world . . ."

The severe illness of Father Davion, spoken of by Gravier, did not terminate fatally. Shortly thereafter the Tunicas removed from the Yazoo and settled on the Mississippi some distance below the point first known as *Roche à Davion* (to which point Davion had removed his mission), afterwards known as Loftus Heights, and later, and now, as Fort Adams. Here, he maintained his mission until 1704, or perhaps 1708, when he removed to Mobile, and in 1725 he was engaged there in a heated controversy with the Capuchins. He died of gout among relatives in France on April 8, 1726.⁶⁵

VII.

THE TAËNSA TEMPLE AND THE NATCHEZ TEMPLE CONFUSED

In a letter to D'Avougour, the Jesuit Le Petit describes a temple as being that of the Natchez. Swanton says: "The description of the Natchez temple given by LePetit is really that

⁶⁵ Clalborne's *Mississippi*, *op. cit.*, p. 21; Shea's *Catholic Missions*, p. 444; *Miss. Prov. Archives*, *op. cit.*, II, p. 346 and Note by the Editors on pp. 346-347.

of the Taënsa temple, though it is impossible to say from what source it was derived, whether from Pénicaut, Tonti, or some other of the former companions of LaSalle." Again, he says: "Perhaps because it was destroyed so early in the French period, this Taënsa temple was afterwards repeatedly confused with that of the Natchez, leading to many accusations of falsehood where only a blunder had been committed. This error was made by LePetit, among others, who described the supposed Natchez temple thus:

"They have a temple filled with idols, which are different figures of men and animals, and for which they have the most profound veneration. Their temple in shape resembles an earthen oven, 100 feet in circumference. They enter it by a little door about four feet high and not more than three in breadth. No window is to be seen there. The arched roof of the edifice is covered with three rows of mats, placed one upon the other, to prevent the rain from injuring the masonry. Above on the outside are three figures of eagles made of wood, and painted red, yellow and white. Before the door is a kind of shed with folding doors, where the guardian of the temple is lodged; all around it runs a circle of palisades, on which are seen exposed the skulls of all the heads which their warriors had brought back from the battles in which they had been engaged with the enemies of their nation.

"In the interior of the temple are some shelves arranged at a certain distance from each other, on which are placed cane baskets of an oval shape, and in these are enclosed the bones of their ancient chiefs, while by their side are those of their victims, who have caused themselves to be strangled to follow their masters into the other world. Another separate shelf supports many flat baskets, very gorgeously painted, in which they preserve their idols. These are figures of men and women made of stone or baked clay, the heads and the tails of extraordinary serpents, some stuffed owls, some pieces of crystal, and some jawbones of large fish. In the year 1699 they had there a bottle and the foot of a glass, which they guarded as very precious.

"In this temple they take care to keep up a perpetual fire, and they are very particular to prevent it ever blazing: they do not use anything for it but dry wood of the walnut (hickory) or oak. The old men are obliged to carry, each one in his turn, a large log of wood into the inclosure of the palisade. The number of the guardians of the temple is fixed, and they serve by the quarter.

He who is on duty is placed like a sentinel under the shed, from whence he examines whether the fire is not in danger of going out. He feeds it with two or three large logs, which do not burn except at the extremity, and which they never place one on the other for fear of their getting into a blaze.

"Of the women, the sisters of the great chief alone have liberty to enter within the temple. The entrance is forbidden to all the others, as well as to the common people, even when they carry something there to feast to the memory of their relatives whose bones repose in the temple. They give the dishes to the guardian, who carries them to the side of the basket in which are the bones of their dead; this ceremony lasts only during one moon. The dishes are afterwards placed on the palisades which surround the temple and are abandoned to the fallow deer."⁶⁶

VIII.

THE "LITTLE TAËNSA"

While Iberville was at the Houma village, then in what is now West Feliciana Parish, on his second trip up the Mississippi, March 5th, 1700, he met a band of Indians known as "Little Taënsa." As to them, he says:

"There were with them," the Houmas, "about forty Little Taënsas, who had come to see them and to offer their services against the Bayougoulas. These Taënsas are wanderers, living ordinarily three days' journey west of this village . . ."⁶⁷

Dr. Swanton comments on this passage: "There were indeed two tribes called Taënsa, though as yet the writer has found but *one* reference to the second under that name . . . The second Taënsa tribe, or 'Little Taënsa,' spoken of by Iberville, were another people who lived west of the Mississippi, and evidently identical with the Avoyel . . . The Avoyel on the other hand lived to the south and west of Red River . . . The position indicated would place them on lower Red River, or its southern effluents, and since there was no good location for a tribe short of Marks-ville prairie, and we nowhere hear of such a tribe again, it is a

⁶⁶ Swanton, *op. cit.*, pp. 161, 269; LePetit the Jesuit in *Jesuit Relations* (Reuben Gold Thwaites, editor), Vol. LXVIII, pp. 122, 125.

⁶⁷ Swanton, *op. cit.*, p. 26; Margry, *Découvertes*, IV (1880), pp. 408, 409.

fair presumption that the 'Little Taënsa' were one and the same people with the Avoyel . . ."⁶⁸

This writer, though having the most profound respect for Dr. Swanton's opinions, deems it not improper to propound the following as a suggestion only: It appears that there is only one known historical reference to the "Little Taënsa;" and it is not improbable that Iberville may have misunderstood them as to the direction of their home from the Houma village, or it may be that Iberville inadvertently wrote "west" instead of "north," or that some copyist did so in transcribing his journal. On the "Indian Village" Plantation, on the Tensas River, about a mile from Clayton near the northern boundary of Concordia Parish, there are a number of Indian mounds, and tradition has it that it was the site of an Indian village. This is also very close to the little bayou or stream which has its beginning at the north end of Lake Saint John, and after meandering westward a few miles, through the southern end of Tensas Parish, empties into the Tensas River near this place; and back to the time of the early white settlements in Concordia this little tributary has been known as "Little Tensas."

The location of these mounds (monuments) is shown on Lafon's Louisiana map of 1806. These monuments are some miles *west* of the Mississippi River; and we would say that they would be "three days' journey," Indian travel, from the point where Iberville encountered the Little Taënsa. May not this location have been the home of the "Little Taënsa?"*

IX.

THE INDIAN MOUNDS OF TENSAS PARISH

There are quite a number of mounds in Tensas Parish which are believed to have been built by the Indians. So far as this writer knows, there has never been any exploration of these ancient monuments by the archaeologists. Through the courtesy

⁶⁸ Swanton, *op. cit.*, pp. 17, 26.

* Dr. Swanton comments on this as follows: "Regarding the Little Taënsas, I should say that the new evidence here adduced deserves careful consideration. My feeling is, however, that the Little Tensas River was so named in contradistinction to the Tensas; that there is no proof that the town site mentioned was occupied in historic times by Taënsas Indians; and that, as the Avoyel and Taënsa were related linguistically and the former tribe was a very small one, the application of the term Little Taënsa to them is quite understandable. However, the point is well raised." Since this paper was written, the writer has discovered that Dr. Swanton is supported by the location of the Little Taënsa on one or two of the very early French maps.

of Mr. Josiah P. Scott of the Tensas Gazette, the writer has been furnished with the following interesting report on the Tensas mounds, which was prepared by Mr. Edward Lynch and concurred in by Mr. Elliott Coleman, both unusually well-informed citizens of that Parish:

"Nearly all Indian mounds are found in pairs. On the Alphenia Plantation, in the lower part of Tensas Parish, there are two of the largest mounds in the Parish. They are very close together, and are near the Tensas River.

"On Argyle Plantation which is also in the lower part of the Parish there are two mounds. The larger of the two is on Green's bayou, and the other is on the back of the place, about a half mile distant. It is very small and has been cultivated down quite a bit.

"On Mamre Plantation, near Tensas River at Cooter's Point, there is a small mound. I have never been able to locate the second mound there, and was in doubt as to whether it was an Indian mound, but in the construction of the gravel road which goes to the Dickman neighborhood, a part of that mound was plowed away and exposed a quantity of old shells, so I don't think there is any question about its being an Indian mound.

"There is a large mound on what is known as Cedar Grove Plantation, which was carved out of Sundown Plantation. On Mayflower Plantation, near Hardbargain Plantation, there is a large mound, but no evidence of a smaller one. About 400 yards from this mound, there is a pond which was unquestionably made in building it. On the Aubrey Plantation, about six miles from Saint Joseph, there is a small mound. On Clark's bayou, several miles back in the woods from Lake Bruen Station, there is a large mound. I have not seen a smaller one there.

"There are two good big mounds on the Hollywood Plantation, on Lake Saint Joseph. The pine trees growing on these two mounds are the only native pines in Tensas Parish except several acres in the Beiler Bayou swamp near Merrydale Plantation. There is a large mound on the Balmoral Plantation above Newellton. I understand there is a smaller mound there, but I have never seen it.

"On the Woodburn Plantation, in the extreme upper end of the Parish about a mile back from Lake Palmyra, there are two mounds, a large mound and a smaller one. On the Mound Bayou Plantation adjoining New Light, on the bank of Mound Bayou and about a quarter mile from the Tensas River, is to be found the largest or one of the largest mounds in this section. About a hundred yards

from it is a much smaller mound which has been cultivated down quite a bit. A mile below that mound, and on Waterloo Plantation, there are a quantity of old shells in the field, and from time to time there have been found stone hatchets and arrow-heads on that cut of ground, so I would think there had been an Indian camp there for some length of time. I am positive that I have seen a mound on the Somerset plantation, but I am uncertain. I will add that I once thought that mounds were used as burial places, and to camp on during high-waters, but on the old Morris place, in Franklin Parish, on land that has never been under water, there is a mound as large as I have ever seen."

To this interesting survey Mr. Scott has appended the following:

"Mr. Lynch is correct in saying that there is a large mound on the Somerset Plantation. It is one of the largest in the Parish. The Somerset property was owned by the Perkins family and William Perkins was drowned at sea. His distressed family erected a marker to his memory on this mound. I do not recall the date given. I believe the ship carrying him and which sank was the "Arctic". Someone has told me that the disaster occurred in the 50's and that a poem was once published about the sinking of this ship."

In the *Southwestern Journal* of July 30, 1838, (a semi-monthly publication by Jefferson College, Washington, Miss.) there is an interesting paper from the pen of Dr. John W. Monette, *Indian Mounds or American Monuments in the Southwest*. This paper treats mainly of recent archaeological discoveries in the mounds in the Natchez area, and particularly on the Irwin plantation, some ten miles northeast of Natchez, where several skeletons and one particularly fine specimen of "flat-head" skull had been found. Also the remains of a funeral pyre, "being the remains of burnt bones and other animal matters calcined and enclosed in a strong cloth of coarse texture, entirely unlike modern manufacture."

Dr. Monette then states that "similar remains were recently discovered by John Routh, Esq., in opening the surface of a mound upon his plantation on Lake Saint Joseph. These relics prove clearly that those who built these monuments, sometimes at least,

adopted the custom which has so long prevailed in the eastern parts of Europe and in Asia of consuming by fire the remains of their friends and entombing their ashes."⁶⁹

X.

THE FIRST AND SECOND MIGRATIONS

In this section of Louisiana the history of the Taënsa Indians definitely ends with the year 1706. In that year they were almost exterminated by their enemies, the Yazoos and the Chickasaws; and Bienville assented to their moving down the river and to their settlement on its west bank at the village of the Bayagoulas, thirteen leagues above the site of New Orleans. The Taënsa proceeded almost immediately to the butchery of their hosts.

Of this, Benard de la Harpe says:

"On the 25th of August (1706), M. de Bienville was informed that the Taënsas were forced to abandon their villages by the Yasous and Chicachas (Chickasaws), and to retire among the Bayagoulas; and that not long afterwards the Taënsas attacked the Bayagoulas, and had nearly exterminated them; a punishment they deserved for having destroyed their allies, the Mongoulachas. The Taënsas fearing the vengeance of the Colapissas, Houmas, and other nations, the allies and friends of the Bayagoulas, they did not dare to return to their ancient villages; but invited the Chitimaches and Yaguénéchitons living on the lakes," Maurepas and Pontchartrain, "to come and eat corn with them, by which they avoided a surprise."⁷⁰

This writer does not know whether the English traders from Carolina had penetrated across the Mississippi into the Taënsa country before this migration; but they had penetrated to the Natchez and other east-bank tribes, and it is probable that they incited the war which the Yazoos and the Chickasaws, allies of the English, made upon the Taënsas. As early as August 25, 1699, M. de Montigny, writing from "*des taensas*," said: "Two englishmen from the carolina, who live among the chickachas, goad these on to make war in all directions and to take as many slaves as they can, whom they then purchase from them

⁶⁹ A bound volume of this publication for the year 1838 is in the Fisk Library at Natchez.

⁷⁰ LaHarpe in French, *op. cit.*, III, p. 35; Swanton, *op. cit.*, 270. (For biographical sketch of LaHarpe, his explorations and writings, see Fortier, *Cyclopedie*, Vol. I, 492).

(the Chickasaws) and sell to the English, who in turn send them to the Antilles (*barbade*) and elsewhere."⁷¹ Fifty years or more of our early history, culminating in the French and Indian War, is the tale of the struggle between France and England for control of the territory between the Mississippi and the Appalachians, and in this struggle the Indians were but pawns in the game.

In a letter from Bienville to Count Pontchartrain, dated 12th of October, 1708, among other things, he said:⁷²

"The English of Carolina are sparing nothing to attract all our Indian allies to them, this last spring there came two Englishmen to the villages of the Chickasaws, envoys of the governor, to ask them to take them to all our allies, in order to give them presents. One of these two came to the great village of the Choctaws, and was not very well received, although he gave them a very big present. The proposal that he made them in his harangue shocked them. It was to aid them to destroy all the little nations that were nearest to our fort, who are the Tohomes, Apalachees, Mobile Indians, Taensas, Choctaws, Pascagoulas and Pensacolas, who are not more than ten leagues away from us. The chiefs of the Choctaws gave him as their entire response after having accepted his present, that they could not consent to the request, inasmuch as that would be to quarrel with the French, who were their entire support, but that he had enough allies to undertake the thing without them, that everything they could do they would do in order to oppose their passing through. This Englishman went straight back to Carolina.

"His comrade went to the Mississippi country and made presents to the nation, and when trying to assemble in the village in which he stayed some time, the chief men of the other nations such as those of the Arkansas, of the Taensas, Natchez, Torinants and Koroas, he said in his harangue that he made to all these nations that his governor was sending him to tell them that he wished peace with them, and that in a short time he would be master of the country, letting them know that the French nation was large, but that we who were here had deserted and (been) driven from the nation and had taken refuge here, and that thus they would lack goods on the first day since we were not able to support ourselves long; that it was a motive of pity that obliged them to warn them of the truth . . . There were present at this same time several Canadian voyageurs who told me about things. This Englishman returned,

⁷¹ Quoted from Schlarman, *op. cit.*, pp. 115, 116.

⁷² *Miss. Prov. Archives, op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 37-44 (39).

assuring all these nations that in January or February he would ruin the French. That, my lord, is what has made me decide to make the Fort," St. Louis at Mobile, "that I have made large, in order to be able to give refuge to two or three hundred Indians, our nearest neighbors, who cannot separate themselves from us . . ."

It would *seem* from this letter that some remnant of the Taënsa was still up in the Lake Saint Joseph country. As we shall now see, shortly subsequent to the Bayagoula massacre the Taënsa moved again, this time to the neighborhood of the Fort at Mobile, which is the occasion of their being mentioned in the first paragraph quoted from Bienville's letter, *ante*.

Swanton, on the authority of Pénicaut, says that in 1715 some Taënsas were at Manchac, "when M. de la Loire des Ursins was sent to apprehend an English trader, supposed to have been sent thither to make alliances with the tribes on the lower Mississippi. LaHarpe does not mention the Taënsa, but Pénicaut, who accompanied the expedition, states that they found the tribe at the Manchac, they having 'abandoned their settlement on account of the wars which the Oumas made against them continually' " . . . "Be that as it may," says Swanton, "it is certain that they assisted in the apprehension of the Englishman, and afterwards accompanied Dé la Loire to Mobile, where they were assigned a place about two leagues from the French fort . . ." ⁷³

But we have Bienville's own statements. In a letter to Pontchartrain, dated at Fort St. Louis (Mobile), June 15, 1715, he says:

" . . . I have also brought from the St. Louis River," the Mississippi, "the Taënsa villages, to whom I have given lands six leagues from this Fort . . ." ⁷⁴

And in his *Memoir on Louisiana*, written in 1725 (1726), shortly after his first recall to France, in discussing the Indian Tribes of Louisiana, after mentioning the Ouachas and their location on the west bank of the river two leagues above New Orleans, Bienville says:

" . . . The Bayougoulas whom one finds eleven leagues higher up on the other side of the river are very different from the latter," the Ouachas. "They were the first In-

⁷³ Swanton, *op. cit.*, pp. 270, 271, citing Margry, *Découvertes*, V, (1883), pp. 431, 508, 552.

⁷⁴ *Miss. Prov. Archives, op. cit.*, III, pp. 181-184 (183).

dians," the Bayougoulas, "whom we found in 1699, and with whom we made an alliance. They were still of the number of more than 250 warriors, as laborious as they were brave. The kindness with which they received into their midst the Taensas who took refuge there was the cause of their destruction. The latter, by unheard-of treachery, massacred them all in one night, and there escaped from this cruel massacre only a small number of Indians who fortunately for themselves were then hunting with some women; so that there now remains of this nation only forty men who live on a good tract of land suited for hunting."

Quoting further from Bienville's *Memoir*:

"... Opposite the village of the Mobile Indians," on the Mobile River, "one sees that of the Taensas. They formerly dwelt on the Mississippi fifteen leagues above the Natchez. They were as numerous as they but much more war-like. They had the same religion of which they now retain little. They now have only seventy men, who in order to protect themselves against their enemies came and sought refuge with us in 1715, after the defeat of their nation. The Apalachees have taken their position three leagues above the Taensas, but on the left bank of the Mobile river as one goes up stream."⁷⁵

Dr. Swanton says, on the authority of Hamilton: That before 1744 the Taënsa moved across the *Tensaw* river, *Alabama*, to which they gave their name, and where they remained until Mobile was ceded to the English... and that there is occasional mention of the Taënsa in the church registers of Mobile from 1708, when some were brought as slaves, to 1761; but it would seem that they were too closely wedded to their native cult to be much affected by Christian teachings.⁷⁶ On the authority of Le Page Du Pratz, he says that: "During this period, they kept up their numbers very well, occupying, it is said, 100 cabins."⁷⁷

Before their first migration, the Taënsa had destroyed the Ouachitas. In a letter from Governor Perier, March 18, 1730, to Count Maurepas, he speaks of having just learned "that the Natchez had abandoned their two forts and their lands, and have crossed to the other side of the river to the land called the Ouachitas;" and in a marginal autographed note at the head of the letter, the Governor says:

⁷⁵ *Miss. Prov. Archives, op. cit.*, III, pp. 499-539 (528, 536).

⁷⁶ Swanton, *op. cit.*, p. 271; Hamilton, P. J., *Colonial Mobile*, pp. 99-100.

⁷⁷ Swanton, *op. cit.*, p. 271; Du Pratz, *Histoire de la Louisiane*, Paris, 1758, II, 213.

"This is the place where formerly was the nation of the Ouachitas, which was destroyed by the Taensas. This place is situated on one of the branches of the Red River, forty leagues from the river," Mississippi, "by water and fifteen leagues by land."⁷⁸

In this connection it is worthy of note that while the Taënsa Indians possessed all the inherent cruelty of other tribes, and were constantly engaged in warfare with them, they were consistently loyal to the French, and, so far as this writer's research goes, no Frenchman ever suffered death at the hands of a Taënsa.

On May 15, 1725, Father Raphael, Superior of the missions of the Capuchin order in Louisiana, wrote the Abbe Raguét about a trip he had just made from New Orleans over to the Taënsa and Mobile Indians, near Mobile, where he had them assembled and exhorted them to become Christians. The chief of the Taensas made a lengthy speech in reply, the substance of which the good Father purports to give in his letter, including a lengthy fable of the tribe, which Father Raphael seemed to think "had some foundation in the history of the three children of Noah, for they have some sort of knowledge of the deluge."⁷⁹

XI.

THE LAST MIGRATION

After the French and Indian War and the cession to Great Britain, by the treaties of 1762 and 1763, of all French territory on the continent of North America save the Island of Orleans and the Province of Louisiana lying west of the Mississippi, which France ceded to Spain, the little tribes around Mobile, being no longer under the protecting wing of France and being fearful of the vengeance of the English and of the Chickasaws and Cherokees, sought a new home in Spanish Louisiana. But the Taënsa did not return to their old hunting grounds on the bank of Lake Saint Joseph—they, along with the Biloxi, Appalachee, and other tribes settled in what is now Rapides Parish.

It seems, from a document furnished Dr. Gatschet by Pierre Margry, that they, with the Alabamons, applied to M. d'Abbadie, Governor at New Orleans, to settle on the Mississippi at the intersection of Bayou Lafourche, "the Chetimichas fork, which is distant from New Orleans about 30 leagues." D'Abbadie says:

⁷⁸ Miss. Prov. Archives, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 61-70.

⁷⁹ Miss. Prov. Archives, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 470-492 (485, 486).

"... I could not refuse to accede to their demand, and have countenanced their project to settle at that spot, so much more willingly as I consider it of advantage to the colony. The two villages comprehend nearly 200 persons. The Taënsas are hunters and tillers of the soil, and will be of great support to the City of New Orleans, whereas the Pakanas, Alibamons, will furnish the same help to us, though a more real advantage to us would be to oppose them to the *Tchaktas* should they attempt to make forays on our possessions. They are their natural enemies and the *Tchaktas* are afraid of them."⁸⁰

It does not appear that the Taënsas settled on Bayou La-Fourche. The late lamented George Purnell Whittington, in his *History of Rapides Parish, Louisiana*, gives us almost the final chapter of their history. Quoting Mr. Whittington:⁸¹

"Among the small tribes or units who came to this section were the Appalachi, Pascagoulas, Tensaw, Biloxi and Choctaws. The Pascagoulas, Tensaws, Alabami and Appalachi first settled along the river," Red, "between the Bayous Jean de Jean, D'Arro and Rigolettes. The Tensaws and Appalachi were on one side and the remainder on the other.

"Before the beginning of the 19th century these people disposed of their land along the river to white settlers. Governor Baron de Carondelet desired the Indian Agent to settle these tribes around Catahoula Lake, but the Indians would not go to these low, swampy lands and removed to Bayou Boeuf and settled south of the Choctaws... In traveling down Bayou Boeuf the first village was that of the Choctaws, then about a mile and a half south was the village of the Pascagoulas, made up of members of the Alabami, Pascagoula and Appalachi tribes. A mile further south was located the village of the Biloxi tribe, where were to be found the Tensaws, Biloxi, and the remnant of the Natchitoches people who had joined these people at their home on the river."

Mr. Whittington further says: That the lands which had been granted to these Indians on Bayou Boeuf, (some 48,600 arpents), were sold by them in 1802 to the mercantile firm of Miller & Fulton, of the Post of Rapide, to whom they were heavily indebted, at a price of less than three cents per acre; and that this sale was confirmed by the Spanish officials and the United States Government.

⁸⁰ Swanton, *op. cit.*, pp. 271, 272.

⁸¹ *La. Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 15, No. 4, (Oct., 1932), pp. 575-577.

Mr. Whittington continues:

"The Indians having divested themselves of cultivable high lands along the Boeuf withdrew into the pine hills and lands further back. Some were removed to the Indian Territory a number of years ago, while descendants of others are still to be found in the poorer sections of this Parish."

Dr. Swanton, as usual, has the last word. He says that from the time of the sales to Miller & Fulton, "the Taënsas disappear from written records." In 1907 he visited Louisiana and learned several particulars concerning their subsequent history:

"... It appears that some time after the sales above mentioned the Taënsa remnant moved south to a small bayou at the northern end of Grand Lake, still known on the local maps as Taënsa bayou, and lived near it for a considerable period. They were then on terms of intimacy with the Chitimacha, Atakapa and Alibamu, with whom they intermarried to some extent, and the father of the oldest woman in the Chitimacha tribe at the present day was a Taënsa. Whether the Taënsa proper died out, scattered, or moved away, is not known, though the Chitimacha chief remembers some rumor of a quarrel which resulted in the separation of the hitherto friendly peoples. There are now (1907) no Indians on the bayou just mentioned."⁸²

Dr. Swanton further says that he visited Charenton, Louisiana, and found the old woman whose father had been a Taënsa; and found that she had formerly been able to use their language. He endeavored in every way to stimulate her memory into the resurrection of at least a word of the old tongue, but in vain. All that he could learn from her was: "That *kí pi*, which signifies 'meat' in Chitimacha, had another meaning in Taënsa, but what it was she could not say."⁸³

And so this serpentine Indian trail, extending backward for two and a half centuries, terminates with one lonely old woman, feeble and palsied and clouded of mind, standing on its brink and peering intently into the Great Unknown!

⁸² Swanton, *op. cit.*, p. 272.

⁸³ Swanton, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

The writer wishes to express his sincere appreciation to the Right Reverend Richard O. Gerow, Bishop of the Catholic Diocese of Natchez, for the loan from his splendid library of a number of the rare books used in the preparation of this paper. He is also grateful to Miss Sarah Irwin Jones, of the Concordia Parish Library, and the Louisiana Library Commission of Baton Rouge, for their invaluable assistance in obtaining books; also to Mr. Robert Usher of Howard Memorial Library, New Orleans, and Dr. James A. McMillen, Librarian, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge.—R. D. C.

THE TAËNSA INDIANS
THE FRENCH EXPLORERS AND CATHOLIC
MISSIONARIES IN THE TAËNSA
COUNTRY

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OLD NEW ORLEANS HOUSES

By JOHN S. KENDALL

IT HAS been said by a discerning critic of our national manners and customs, that there are three cities in North America which are distinctive, and only three. Quebec is a characteristic and delightful expression of the Anglo-French colonial society in which it has grown up. In Charleston still lingers the old Southern tradition of that large, princely, and somewhat overburdened life which we like to associate with the days before the Civil War. New Orleans is a type different from either of these cities. It has been for two centuries a meeting place, not of one or two civilizations, but of three. Not only have the Anglo-Saxon and the French influenced its culture, but the Spanish left behind a contribution the importance of which has, perhaps, not always been fully realized. The mere persistence of a language in a community ought not to blind us to subtle changes elsewhere: in mood, in point of view, in habits of living; in all of which New Orleans approximates more nearly to Latin America, perhaps, than happens with any other town in North America.

Aside from these three cities—Quebec, Charleston, and New Orleans—there really is not in the United States a community which exemplifies uniquely the society out of which it comes. New York is an exotic place, no more American than it is British or Italian, Jewish or German; something individual, but not characteristic. The other great American cities are lost in that deadly monotony which is the bane of so much of our national life; with their peculiar qualities ironed down and smoothed out in the passionate eagerness with which we Americans have striven to conform ourselves and our habitation to one universal pattern, and to make St. Louis as much like Chicago, and Chicago as much like Denver, and Denver as much like Boston as possible: until we could close our eyes, and be whisked by ingenious fairies from one section of this vast country to another, without ever being conscious of removal.

But the person who, falling asleep in one of those substitutes from the old Arabian flying carpet invented for us by George Pullman, passes from the bleak uniformity of New England,

or the bleaker Middle West, and wakes in Quebec, or Charleston, or New Orleans, cannot fail to sense the change. It is this difference which points out these three cities as exceptional and characteristic in our drab American civilization. I think, perhaps, this remark applies to New Orleans with emphasis even stronger than it does to either of its two—shall we say, rivals?—though, of course, the very fact of their difference eliminates all question of competition. New Orleans is more complex than they are; it is at once more cosmopolitan and more provincial, more sedate and more giddy, more conscious of its history, and more interested in the possibilities of the future; and—shall I add?—gayer with the sort of hurried, importunate gayety that old cities and old people have, and sadder, with the sort of sadness which leads us to pin a rose on our coat-lapel and smile, because our melancholy goes too deep for tears. I think that New Orleans is truly Latin in its incapacity for self-analysis, and in its irritating tendency to explain even its most meritorious actions in ways that run diametrically counter to the fact. Its prejudices, its enthusiasms, its virtues and its vices—do they not all carry with them a suggestion of the esoteric,—of the many and opposing sources from which they come,—of things rather felt than interpreted,—of something which is both illogical and inevitable, accidental and historic?

It is not wholly fanciful to find these qualities all reproduced in the architecture of the city. Architecture is the most responsive of the arts—the one in which all the others, except possibly, music, is incorporated; and some one has even called a very beautiful building “frozen music.” Surely the places where men and women have lived and loved, been happy, suffered, and died, take on something of the humanity of their occupants. Who has not felt the eerie, indefinable sensation that sends cold shudders up and down the spine at entering a vacant room—a feeling that tragedy has been there, even if there be no known record that anything terrible ever occurred upon the spot? Who, on the other hand, has not sensed the atmosphere of grace and charm that lingers in old houses long after their occupants have disappeared, where some delightful woman has been the gracious hostess, and filled her salons with wit, and mirth, and loveliness? Often as I walk about the older parts of New Orleans, I have amused myself by fitting out in imagination the biographies of the old houses that look down on the passer-by with great,

staring windows like rheumy eyes; attributing to this one a happy story, and to that one a dark and terrible history; neither perhaps justifiable in fact, but abundantly documented by the aspect of those venerable, peeling walls. I do not mean that I permit myself the luxury of parading imaginary history before the public. Alas, New Orleans has suffered more than its proportion from that kind of thing! I mean merely that I like to think that I can divine from the outer seeming of these old buildings whether the people who once dwelt in them knew joy or sorrow, comedy or tragedy. It must be in some such spirit of sympathy that one approaches these old buildings, if he is to enjoy them to the full.

We have very few documents about primitive New Orleans that give us the outer seeming of what must have been a rather forlorn little place. The site was bad. Only three squares back from the river, the soil began to grow swampy, and the houses had to be elevated well above the surface to escape the miasmatic mists which were believed to spread disease. The growth of the city was first up and down the river, along these few squares of solid earth, and only gradually back towards Rampart street, as ditches were opened and the morasses converted into dry ground. I imagine that the first buildings in New Orleans erected of permanent materials, like the good French and Spanish brick brought over from Europe and laid in a mortar made with powdered oyster-shells—a construction of an exceedingly solid sort—were one-story brick houses like those on Chartres street, on the woodside, near the corner of Dumaine street. There used to stand, on the river corner of Chartres and Dumaine, a little, tile-roofed house that doubtless belonged to the first epoch of New Orleans architecture; a building which served George W. Cable as model for his "Café des Exilés," in the "Old Creole Days." This building was torn down about the year 1912, in the days of the rat-proofing madness that was then sweeping over New Orleans, carrying raven and ruin in its wake. Not only was it very old and very picturesque, but it was one of the last types of a kind of construction which must have been very common in New Orleans in its early years: the walls made by placing upright timbers at intervals and filling in the interstices with masonry of a rude sort, the whole subsequently covered with stucco, and painted. Later on, as wealth increased, and domestic architecture improved, houses of brick were built

in the style common in provincial French towns; and I fancy that about 1750 New Orleans must have looked, at least in certain quarters, not a little like the less frequented part of *Marseilles*. But we know very little about that. Great fires were not infrequent in colonial New Orleans, and they have left us practically nothing of the old city, except the Ursuline Convent, at Chartres and Dumaine. There was a fire in 1788 which destroyed 856 dwellings—one-third of the entire town. The buildings along the river front escaped, but the central portion of New Orleans, including the entire wholesale commercial quarter, the town hall, the arsenal, the jail, the parish church, and the roomy, comfortable wide-verandaed home of the Capuchin monks—these were all consumed. Six years later some children playing in a courtyard on Royal street, set fire to an adjoining hay store, and thus started a conflagration which (in three hours) burnt up 212 buildings. Not much, if anything, of early New Orleans escaped this second fire. Probably what survived was the poorer and less representative part, which was gradually pulled down as the city was rebuilt and extended. With the exception of the Ursulines convent, as I have said, I doubt if we have anything left which antedates those two great misfortunes. Nevertheless, when the town was rebuilt, about the end of the eighteenth century, it took on something of the appearance of a Spanish town. But New Orleans never looked exactly like a Spanish town, nor a French one, either, for that matter; it has always been something unique, the product of its own genius, a thing created by its environment, its climate, its spiritual condition—if we can use so high-sounding a word as “spiritual” about a little place which was chiefly interested in gambling, dancing, and smuggling.

The city which grew up after 1796 was built pretty well of brick, one or two stories high, with great arched gateways leading into hallways paved with flag-stones, and cool and beautiful gardens—a city of houses something like the old Morphy House, on Royal street, which we now call the “Patio Royal.” To this time also belongs the Brulatour house, where the Arts and Crafts Club was long established. The precise date when these buildings were erected we do not know; but they were of the type that came in about the year 1800. This is a type admirably suited to New Orleans. No one who loves the city can fail to deplore the taste which has led to the substitution for

these grand, spacious, noble old dwellings, of the jerry-built Ladies-Home-Journal kind of bungalow which defaces so many of the newer quarters of the city. The bungalow no doubt can be so designed and built as to make a fairly acceptable residence in New Orleans, but I question if it will ever lend itself sympathetically to the kind of life which New Orleans ought to lead.

Between 1830 and 1860 New Orleans enjoyed a period of prosperity probably never duplicated in its history. Those were the years when it was the entrepot for the whole Mississippi Valley. Wealth flowed into the city from every direction. Merchants made fortunes and retired at forty years of age; lawyers did even better. These men built for themselves a new and statelier type of residence. In those years a large part of New Orleans was either reconstructed, or if built up for the first time, built in the ample, elegant style that then came into vogue. There is a splendid example of that sort of building in the Del Valle residence at 613 Royal street, where Marinozzi, the clever Italian woodcarver, once had his shop. The wreck of a superb garden lies behind the building; and the rear-windows in the main section of the house are among the best designed and most daringly placed of any in the old mansions that I know. An even finer example is the Grima mansion, at No. 820 St. Philip street, now owned by the Christian Woman's Exchange. This was built in 1830, by a wealthy banker named Herman, and became the property of Felix Grima in 1840. I think the facade of the Grima house is one of the most satisfactory pieces of design which we have in New Orleans: the doorways, both the lower and the upper, are superb.

A little later on, New Orleans saw the development of a somewhat less ample, but still very splendid type of home, such as the so-called "White House," on South Rampart street, near Tulane Avenue, a vast place containing 21 rooms. Built in 1856 by Charles Kock, a commission merchant, from designs by James Gallier Jr., it was when erected one of the handsomest and costliest private buildings in the city. Kock occupied it till his death, in 1870, and his widow continued to reside there till 1872, when she sold it to William Stackhouse, a planter of great wealth, who owned much real estate in New Orleans. During the Civil War the house was taken over by the Federal military authorities, and along with a number of other handsome mansions in this

then very fashionable vicinity, used as a prison for Confederate officers. Subsequently, the "White House" became the property of François Cazelles, at one time manager of the French opera. Madame Cazelles was a celebrated modiste, and carried on in this building a business which brought her a fortune; on which she and her husband retired, and went to live in France, where Cazelles died, in 1916. He was a man of more than ordinary abilities, and was several times decorated by the French government, in recognition of his services to art, first in connection with the French Opera in New Orleans, and afterwards, towards the close of his life, as manager of the Capitol Theatre, in Toulouse.

To the decade preceding the Civil War belong also a number of other very fine buildings that still stand; notably the house formerly occupied by Archbishop Shaw, on Esplanade avenue. It was built in 1850 by Hamilton Wright, uncle of the well-known writer and editor, Hamilton Wright Mabie. The building cost \$90,000. After the Civil War it became the home of Cuthbert Slocomb, at one time prominent in the hardware business in New Orleans, but more permanently distinguished as an officer in the Washington Artillery. It was his daughter, the beautiful Cora, who married the Italian Count de Brazza, and became internationally famous for her philanthropies in connection with the lace-workers of the Abruzzi. When Col. Slocomb died the house passed into the possession of a well-known dry-goods merchant named Wallace, and after him was owned by J. P. Horner, a prominent lawyer. A few years later, when it was acquired by the Catholic diocese, the purchase price was \$25,000—a very large sum for that time, but a small price to pay for so fine a place.

I shall not attempt to speak of the type of building which was evolved to meet the needs of an elegant, pleasure loving population in the suburbs of the city. A good many examples thereof exist today in that charming region around Jackson Avenue which used to be called the "Garden District." Probably the finest of them all is the house now occupied by the Soulé Business College, a magnificent building, surrounded by colonnades and verandahs, erected in 1856 by H. S. Buckner, and afterwards the home of his daughter, Mrs. Cartright Eustis. The exquisite Burnside mansion, formerly the home of the Sophie Newcomb Memorial College, is another, though somewhat dif-

ferent example. The Burnside house, which was built in the early '50s, is solidly constructed of brick, but most of these lovely places, situated in vast gardens, were of wood. Although the tide of fashion has turned away from this section now and it is entering upon that stage of boarding-house-and-apartment life which, in New Orleans, is prelude to complete social collapse, it is still, in many respects, the most alluring part of the city. An air of old fashioned aristocracy yet pervades this part of Coliseum, Chestnut, First, Second, Third and Fourth streets. Something ought to be done to preserve the "Garden District" from the fate which is slowly overtaking it. A wise city government could do much to attract to it the cultured and wealthy class that once filled it.

I have ventured to give these details about houses in New Orleans which are not so old, in order that the reader may have an idea of the architectural history of the city. To the student, of course the real interest attaches, not to them, but to the ancient buildings, principally in the Vieux Carré, which reflect the habits and manners of the remoter part of our history. I have mentioned the Ursuline Convent as the oldest building we have; it is more than that—it is the oldest building in the Mississippi Valley. It was built in 1727, and at that time Chicago, St. Louis, Cincinnati, and all the other thriving communities which now stud the great region watered by the Father of Waters were still undreamed of. I fancy that, south of Quebec, there is in all that immense territory no other structure which can compare to the Ursuline Convent in point of age, and certainly none that equals it in architectural beauty. I refer to that immense brick building at the corner of Chartres and Dumaine which Bienville erected as a home for the religious who at his suggestion were sent out from Rouen to take charge of the education of the girls of his little capital. The Ursulines came, and while their stately home was being built, they occupied the governor's own house, which stood at the corner of Bienville and Chartres, but was long ago pulled down. They moved into their home about the year 1734, and there they remained for 90 years. In 1824 they moved to a quieter retreat, on Dauphine street, between Manual and Sister—three or four miles below Canal. There they stayed till not long ago they moved to a great new brick building covering nearly a square of ground on State street, near Claiborne, in the newest part of the city.

When the Ursulines left their first home, in 1824, the city had grown down around them, and property had become very valuable for commercial purposes; so the locality was no longer one likely to conduce to meditation and prayer. But it was an admirable place for the residence of a great ecclesiastical official like the archbishop; so the nuns presented the building to the diocese, and the then reigning archbishop moved in. Thereafter, till 1899, it served as the home and office of the head of the Catholic church in Louisiana, and as the home and school of a group of young seminarians. Apparently, for a year or two before the property passed to its present owners, it was leased to the city; for Castellanos, in his pleasant book on New Orleans, tells us that, in 1828, when the old state-house at the corner of Toulouse and Levee streets was burned, it was used by the Central and Primary schools. The Board of Regents which then presided over the educational destinies of New Orleans, offered the state legislature the use of the upper story as a meeting place pending the rebuilding of the state house. This offer was accepted, but we do not know just how long the legislature frequented the building—not very long, apparently; for soon thereafter, it became the residence of the Archbishop.

Today the old place has fallen upon hard times. After the removal of the archbishop, the archiepiscopal offices were continued there for a time; then the whole building was turned over to an Italian parochial school, and at the present time, every now and then, somebody proposes to pull it down, on the ground that the diocese has no money to keep it in repair or to adapt it to educational or other uses. The destruction of this building would be a loss to the whole nation. If anything of the sort should ever be seriously considered, it ought to be met by an earnest protest, and steps should be taken to buy the property and preserve it to history and future generations. It is a magnificent structure, almost unharmed by the years that have passed over it. The most serious alteration that it has suffered was made in 1846, when the church of St. Mary's Archbishopric (now called after the Italian St. Rita) was built at the lower end.

The last time I visited the place it was in a sad state of neglect. The long, delightful galleries which overlooked a charming garden on the rear of the house in the time of Archbishop Janssens have been removed; the pretty lawns and prim

rows of myrtles have vanished, and the whole building was shabby and forlorn. The Italian priests who now have the place in charge, have done something to restore it to its original condition, but much remains to do. The floors are of massive planks three or four inches thick, pinned together with thick wooden pins; the staircase is a curiously solid construction, each step a single beam, obviously squared and put in place by a ship's carpenter; and the old wrought-iron balustrade is still in position. But all these things will be lost, unless something is soon done to preserve them.

It is said that one of the first acts of Bienville, on laying out the city in 1718, or 1720, or whenever it was (for, oddly enough, we haven't any very clear idea of when New Orleans was really founded), was to set aside ground on which to build a church. The venerable Cathedral of St. Louis, which lifts its quaint facade behind Jackson Square today, stands upon that spot. This is the third building that has been erected there. In 1722, when Père Charlevoix visited New Orleans, he found a rough wooden shed, which was sometimes used for religious services and sometimes for purely mundane purposes; for he complains somewhat heatedly that the "Lord of the Place" was occasionally turned out of "his house." That rude structure was blown down in a hurricane in 1723, and a year later a brick church, known as the Parish Church of St. Louis, was begun on the site. The great fire of 1788 destroyed that church, and for four years the site lay vacant; and then Don Andrés Almonester y Rojas, the Rockefeller of the Louisiana of that day, came forward with an offer to replace the old church with a larger and handsomer structure at his own expense. Needless to say the offer was accepted. Don Andrés began work in 1792 and the building was dedicated in 1794, having cost him \$50,000—a large sum, equal to not less than \$250,000 in our present day currency. The one return which Don Andrés asked for his gift was that on every Saturday afternoon forever thereafter a mass be said for the repose of his soul. This request has been scrupulously obeyed ever since.

The architecture of Don Andrés' church was very Spanish, as one may see in Thulstrup's picture in the Cabildo. It had two round towers, one at either extremity of the facade. Upon these towers bell-shaped turrets were erected in 1819 from designs by Latrobe. At the same time the tribune was reconstructed. The belfry was added in 1824 by Leriche. These changes made

a great difference in the appearance of the building; and there was a complete reconstruction of the facade in 1850, when one of the towers fell, doing a great deal of damage to the roof. The task of repairing the building was entrusted to the then city surveyor, Pilié, one of the best-known of our early architects and engineers. It is a matter of dispute just how far Pilié went. I have heard it said that he virtually rebuilt the cathedral. That he reconstructed the facade entirely, and widened the nave by six feet, seems certain. Let us hope that he made only a few changes otherwise in the structure. I like to think that as it stands today, the cathedral is substantially what Don Andrés Almonester gave us; though I fear it really is something like the little boy's jack-knife which was still the same one that his father had presented to him on his birthday, although blades, handle, and every individual element that enters into the being of a jack-knife had been renewed since then.

It has had a very interesting history, this century-old church. It saw the burial of the good Don Andrés, in 1796. Four years later the gorgeous Philippe Mandeville de Marigny died; we can imagine that the day when he was laid to rest in the nave of the cathedral, in front of the altar of Our Lady of Lourdes, was a memorable and picturesque one. The first rector was the irrepressible Père Antoine de Sedilla, who tried to introduce the Inquisition into Louisiana, and was expelled from the colony by Governor Miro for his pains. He came back afterwards, purged of his bumptiousness, more or less, and became the first rector of the new cathedral, serving from the date of its completion to his own death, in 1851. He assisted Bishop DuBourg in 1815 at the famous mass said in the cathedral in thanksgiving for the victory at Chalmette; on which occasion General Jackson, uncompromising Methodist though he was, was present, to show that he realized that the battle had not been won altogether by human efforts, and that the prayers and tears of the Ursulines on the night of January 7th had not been presented in vain before the shrine of our Lady of Prompt Succor.

Historically, the most interesting building in New Orleans is the Cabildo. It stands on the uptown side of the Cathedral, of which it is very nearly co-equal in age. Upon the site where the present structure stands there was, in Bienville's time, a small guard-house and a prison. Subsequently, a house was erected where the officers of the city government used to meet. There in

1788 assembled the Cabildo created by that energetic and reforming genius of ambiguous memory, O'Reilly. The Cabildo was really a body of officials who had in charge the government of New Orleans and, to some extent, of the whole vast Territory of Louisiana. In the course of time the name was transferred from the officials to the building. After the fire of 1788, in which the Principal (townhall), as it was originally known, was burned, the government proposed to erect a building of a dignity commensurate with the rapidly expanding city, and entrusted to one Gilbert Guillemard the task of preparing suitable designs.* In 1794 a contract was made with our old friend, Don Andrés Almonester, to put it up. He did it carefully and competently, and, after a fashion, was compensated for his labors. The impression that the Cabildo, like the Cathedral, was a gift from the old millionaire to New Orleans, is erroneous. He did indeed present the Cathedral to the city, or, rather, to the diocese; but when it came to the Cabildo, his generosity limited itself to lending the government the money with which the costs of the building were met. It seems likely that he himself was compensated out of this loan, which was not repaid till long after his death.

Don Andrés, nevertheless, did an extremely good job, as one may see who goes over the Cabildo today. It remains substantially as he left it, except that in 1851 some misguided genius put on top that extraordinary mansard roof which gives the whole structure so hilarious an aspect today. Originally, the roof was flat, and surrounded by a low stone railing. It ought to be restored to its original form. The whole neighborhood would gain by the change. At the same time, if we go in for restorations, the glazing in the loggia on the second-floor might also be removed; for it too, was put in in 1850. Before that, this was an open gallery, no doubt a delightful place in which to talk and walk on hot afternoons, when the Cabildo was not too busy to relax and take its pleasure there.

* Gilbert Guillemard was a French priest who came to New Orleans from Natchez. He was an architect as well as an ecclesiastic. In the former capacity he was for many years in the employ of the Cabildo, or, at any rate, was so employed down to 1800. It was his business to inspect all work done on public buildings, even such small matters as repairs to a chimney, and not till he had approved, did the Cabildo pay for them. It is quite likely that Guillemard designed the Cathedral and the Presbytere. Seeing that the latter was erected not earlier than in 1811, his activities must have covered a long span of years. For these particulars concerning Guillemard I am indebted to the staff of the Louisiana State Museum, in New Orleans, which is doing an important work in collecting such material.

What interesting things have happened in the Cabildo! Up these identical old stone steps have passed almost everybody of any interest in the history of Louisiana during the last century and a quarter:—Salcedo, the senile old Spanish governor; the crafty but elegant Casa Calvo; Laussat, who represented France at the transfer of Louisiana to the United States; the amiable Claiborne, the plausible Wilkinson; Lafayette, Dr. Antommarchi, Andrew Jackson, and scores of others. In the large room on the uptown side of the building, on the second floor, in 1803, Louisiana was formally delivered by Spain to France, and by France no less formally to the United States: the most tremendous single incident in the history of our country. In 1858 during the election disturbances of that year, the building was seized by the Know Nothings, led by Captain Duncan, and held for some days in spite of all that could be done to dislodge them; a revolutionary proceeding that for a time paralyzed the city government and resulted in the impeachment of the mayor—the only case of a mayor being successfully impeached in the history of New Orleans.

During reconstruction times the Cabildo was one of the storm centers of politics. It was then used as a meeting place for the Supreme court. After the battle of September 14, 1874, a part of the Radical forces retreated to the Cabildo and there prepared to resist the advancing citizens. The attack was planned to take place at dawn, but fortunately the place surrendered before actual fighting began. The bloody drama of Reconstruction in Louisiana ended here in 1877, when a force of citizens under Col. J. D. Hill dispersed the Radical Supreme Court and inaugurated the Nicholls judges. That act brought under the control of the Democrats the last institution of state government that attempted to resist them, and thus white government was enabled once more to function in Louisiana with full power.

The Cabildo which O'Reilly established in 1769 or thereabouts was dissolved when the Louisiana territory passed to France some thirty-four years later. Laussat created a municipality to govern New Orleans. The present building was selected to house the new city government. It continued to be the city hall down to 1836, when owing to the division of the city into three municipalities, it became the headquarters of the administration in the second municipality. After that it was used by the State Su-

preme Court down to 1910, when it was turned over to the State Museum and the Louisiana Historical Society, both of which are domiciled there now.**

I must confess that, keenly as I have been interested in the history of the Cathedral and the Cabildo, and the other widely-known buildings of the city, I have been still more attracted by the old residences that still stand in the Vieux Carré. The others were the show places of New Orleans; but these were where the people lived and moved and had their being, and upon them they have left the indefinable impress of their personality—that stamp of human experience which, to my mind, is the thing that makes old houses so suggestive and alluring. Probably the oldest residence in the city is that commonly known as “Madame John’s Legacy,” on Dumaine, near Royal street; now the property of Mrs. I. I. Lemann, by whom it has been completely and tastefully restored. This building was erected by a sea captain, Jean Pascal by name, between 1728 and 1778, in all likelihood much nearer the former than the latter date. At one time it was the property of Lafitte’s doughty lieutenant, Béluche.* Another extremely interesting old residence is the DeLassus house, at 521 Dauphine street. This is an odd, distinctive, not unpicturesque building, with a high basement, a wide front porch, carried on a row of Corinthian columns, and a projecting portico, up to which rise on either side the entrance stairs. It was built about the year 1810, by Count Charles Dehault de Lassus, a French nobleman who entered the service of Spain, and for distinguished services was promoted to be lieutenant colonel in 1794, and in 1799 was made Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Louisiana. After the transfer of Louisiana to the United States, he succeeded Grand Pré as governor of Baton Rouge, and there, in 1810, he took a more or less prominent part in the so-called revolution in the west Florida parishes.

** Note by Editor of *La. Hist. Qy.*: In my paper on John B. Colton (1916) I said that the Cabildo was occupied by the 6th District Court presided over by Judge Colton, from 1853 to 1857. That statement was made on the authority of the minute book of his Court. As to when the Cabildo was first occupied by the Supreme Court of Louisiana is another unsettled question. It is more than likely this occurred after the close of the Civil War.

* General Allison Owen, the well-known New Orleans architect, whose knowledge of local history is wide and accurate, believes that the design of “Mme. John’s Legacy” corresponds quite closely with that of the country-house erected by Bienville on the site of the present United States Customhouse, on Canal street. If so, it seems reasonable to put the date of both buildings at approximately the same time, and, moreover, we may suppose that Bienville’s engineer, Pauger, was the architect responsible for them. “Mme. John’s Legacy” figures in Cable’s beautiful story, “Tite Poulette,” but he dates the tale in 1810. Insofar as there is any historical background for Cable’s work, it concerns another and quite different building, on Dumaine near Conde (Chartres) street, where dwelt “the free mulatress Louisa.”

DeLassus subsequently became a citizen of New Orleans, and a very active and useful citizen he was, taking a prominent part in the affairs of the old Orleans Battalion, as the local militia was then called. He made his home at his mansion on Dauphine street till his death in 1818. In his time the house was noted as a center of princely hospitality. But after the death of its noble builder, it fell on evil days. It was at one time occupied by Emanuel Rodriguez, "handsome Emanuel," a Cuban gambler, who ran a faro game in the front apartment where large sums changed hands nightly. Finally, the place became so notorious that the police had to interfere. Then it became the home of a Spanish consul, and the story goes that this gentleman was murdered there—no one knows why or when, except that the crime was committed about the year 1900. Now, the house is in the sere and yellow leaf, a tenement in a shabby neighborhood, where the black and white neighbors are equally ignorant of and indifferent to its long-ago glories.

If the truth were known—which it is not—I fancy that the next oldest residence in New Orleans would be the so-called Lafitte bank at Nos. 529-531 St. Louis street, only a stone's throw from Chartres. About seventy-five years ago it was occupied by the banking house of Laffite & Dufilho. After that, its history is obscure. At the present time it is inhabited by a retired wine-merchant and his family, who have done everything in their power to keep the building in good condition. It is, unquestionably, one of the most attractive examples of our early architecture; the lower story very high, the upper one relatively low, but the proportions in every way pleasing. It resembles in many ways the "Old Absinthe House," on the corner of Bienville and Bourbon, which, we know, was built at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and which was a tavern and wine-shop as early as 1826.

In those good-old days it was the custom for the proprietor of a shop or tavern, or what not, to make his home on the floor above his business; a practice which was not limited to small businesses, but was followed in the case of some of the biggest banks of the city; for instance, of the Louisiana State Bank, on Royal street, corner of Conti. That building was erected in 1818, and the upper story was then, and is now, used as a residence, and a very delightful residence it must be, too.

There is no building in the older part of New Orleans which is better known than the old Lemonnier House, at the corner of

Royal and St. Peter street. Lafcadio Hearn tells us, in one of his sketches, that this is the building that Cable had in mind when he wrote the pathetic little story of "'Sieur George;" that in his day 'Sieur George's room on the top floor, at the head of the stair, was to be rented at what Hearn deemed the extortionate price of \$10 a week. Of course 'Sieur George was an imaginary figure, but Cable's use of the old house gives it an importance quite apart from its value as an early and very fine monument of Louisiana domestic architecture. It has another and rather curious claim to remembrance—it was the "first sky-scraper" erected in the Mississippi valley. It was built long before spidery, modern steel office buildings came into being, and its four stories represented an altogether unprecedentedly lofty attainment in the way of building.

The idea prevailed in the early part of the last century that the soil of New Orleans (which was, I must admit, not altogether the best kind of foundation for a sky-scraper) would not support the weight of a building of more than two stories. Most people sought safety, and built only one-story or one-story and a half. But Dr. Yves René Lemonnier, who was a wealthy French gentleman, a native of Rennes, had a theory. He thought that if a house were built well enough, it would stand even upon the supposedly treacherous soil of Louisiana. He built; but the people of the city, as they watched the walls rising, anticipated the worst. They poked fun at Lemonnier; they told him that his house would fall down; that he could never get the building up beyond the second story; and they stood around waiting to see the catastrophe, as we still like to do, here in New Orleans; or more prudently, made detours to avoid the spot, in case the building should fall just when they happened to be passing. But it didn't fall. Dr. Lemonnier carried it up to the third story, and on the second he made himself a circular room overlooking St. Peter street, which was his office. The other floors were let out in apartments. The house has walls two feet thick. In spite of the evil times through which it has passed it survives practically unhurt. Even the beautiful wrought iron balconies, with Dr. Lemonnier's initials on the central panel, are still in place. A little money judiciously expended on the old building, would make it once more into a real palace.

The Lemonnier place was built not earlier than 1798 nor later than 1814; in all probability in 1809, but we are not sure of the date. It cost \$28,000, which, measured in terms of our present values, would be fully \$80,000. Dr. Lemonnier lived there till his death in 1832. The mansion was then sold to a man named Saloy, who went the original owner one better, by adding a fourth story to the structure, without causing it to tumble down. Saloy lived there for a few years, and then sold the place to John Fisse, who moved in on the top floor, opened a grocery on the ground floor, and let the two intervening stories out to cheap tenants. The place began to lose its prestige at once, and has been losing it ever since, till now I doubt if it has any more to lose. It is now a dirty rookery, full of Italians, who hang their washing on the aristocratic balconies and sell charcoal at the front door.

I find I have space left to speak of but one more of the many old houses whose stories I would like to tell. No paper of this description would be complete without at least an allusion to the "Haunted House" in Royal street, of all our old buildings the one which has the largest place in the world's literature. Both Harriet Martineau and George W. Cable have written charmingly about it. I fancy there is no one who knows anything about New Orleans anywhere who does not know that it was here that Madame Lalaurie tortured her slaves, and that ever since the ghosts of her victims frequent the spot. The place has a special interest at this time, as it has recently been acquired by a philanthropic enterprise, and as a home for down-and-out men and boys is redeeming its tragic past. Moreover, an attempt has recently been made to identify the present building with a structure said to have been erected on the site as early as 1773; which, if true, would make the Haunted House the oldest dwelling but one in the city, and therefore of the deepest historical interest. But I do not think that the reasons alleged for this date are quite sound. The Haunted House is a larger and higher building than the Lemonnier House, and it seems improbable that there could have been so much criticism of the daring Dr. Lemonnier in 1809, if nearly forty years before the very experiment he was trying had been successfully attempted a few blocks away. I wish it were otherwise; I would like to believe that Louis Phillipe, who was in New Orleans in 1798, was really once a guest in this romantic house, though I can't see why he should have deserted the Marigny mansion for this one. It is said that Lafayette was

entertained here, and that may be, for Lafayette did not come to New Orleans till 1824 or 1825. I would like to believe that, too; although it is said that he occupied apartments fitted up for his use at the Cabildo, and also that he had rooms at the old Stranger's Hotel, on Royal street, near St. Louis street, where the ice-factory now stands. They were very versatile old fellows, a century ago; but I doubt if they ever really succeeded in being in three places at once.

The story of Madame Lalaurie ought to be studied by some person with the leisure to make a thorough investigation. As told by Cable, it has a certain romantic character which makes the reader a little distrustful of the alleged facts. As recently related in a local newspaper, on the authority of a relative of Mme. Lalaurie, the wild old tale is greatly softened down and made almost respectable. I cannot say just where the truth lies. There doesn't seem to be any room to doubt that Madame Lalaurie got into trouble with the law some time before the final catastrophe. As Cable tells the story, she drove a little negro child to its death by making it leap from the roof of the building, in a desperate effort to escape from tortures past and impending. It hardly seems possible that Mme. Lalaurie went so far; but something was done under the old Black Code, which prohibited the mistreatment of slaves, and that she sustained some sort of fine or reprimand seems tolerably certain. It was understood that she had carried her domestic discipline a little too far, but this was not deemed altogether a reprehensible thing at that time, when there was a great deal of apprehension about the negroes. Other people were known to be severe in their treatment of their slaves. Some of them seem even to have been cautioned at the time of Mme. Lalaurie's first offense. People therefore were not inclined to be very censorious. Anyhow, the incident was smoothed over and apparently forgotten, until, a year or two later, when a chance revelation made known the full extent of the lady's cruelty, and an indignant mob wrecked her house and drove her from the city.

It has been recently stated, on what authority I do not know, that the property was originally a crown-grant, issued in 1773 to Jean and Henri Ramaie, two young Frenchmen of good birth, who came to New Orleans in that year, seeking their fortune. According to this story, the present edifice was built by Jean

Ramaie for his own use, and is only half of the structure originally planned, the other half being projected as a home for Henri Ramaie. But Henri wearied of provincial society and returned to France, and Jean inhabited his fine mansion with all of his family except his brother. It is said that the house was designed by a distinguished Spanish architect, and built of materials imported from Spain, but these are details which, while possible, seem doubtful. It was a good design, anyhow, if the present structure is the one that Jean Ramaie lived in. He spent twenty-five years there, and died, and his house was sold, presumably to E. Soniat Dufossat; and in August, 1831, E. Soniat Dufossat in his turn sold the place to Madame Lalaurie. Perhaps she dwelt in the house earlier than that. The new version of her story is that the house some years before became the property of her father, Eugene McCarthy, a Scotchman whose name, if given correctly, seems to point to quite another nationality. McCarthy and his Scotch wife had to leave Great Britain on account of some political trouble, went to Santo Domingo, lived there a while, and then, to escape the servile wars which broke out in that island, came to New Orleans. This would make their arrival somewhere about 1810 or 1812. Apparently this McCarthy was a relative of the Macarty who figures in our early colonial history, and who settled in Louisiana about 1730.

Eugene McCarthy had a daughter Delphine, who was placed in the Ursulines convent, to be educated. When she attained the age of 12, she was sent to France, to complete her training. It is said that a dozen other young girls were sent with her, all at the expense of her wealthy and adoring father, to bear her company. When she returned to New Orleans, some years later, her father was dead, and his interests in Louisiana were being handled by his capable young widow. Mme. McCarthy and the young Delphine made their homes in the Ramaie mansion. They took a prominent part in the limited but brilliant local social life. Suddenly a terrible tragedy darkened the young girl's life. Madame McCarthy was murdered on her plantation near the city by her slaves, in one of those not infrequent slave-risings which were the penalty that Louisiana paid for her complicated social system. Who committed the crime was not known. The memory of this tragic affair seems to have preyed upon the mind of the

young woman, and finally she took terrible ways to find out the culprit, and to punish him—or her—or them, whichever it might be.

Delphine McCarthy was twice, or perhaps thrice married. Cable suggests that she made three trips to the altar. At her first wedding she became the wife of Lopez y Argoula, a Spanish official on service in the colony. There is a curious story that as a consequence of having married without permission from the king [what do you suppose the king cared about his marriage?] he had to go to Spain with his young wife to explain; and that in Madrid the beauty and wit of the lady won all hearts, and the culprit was promptly absolved of blame. Anyhow, the young pair set out on their return, and during the long voyage the bridegroom fell ill and died, so that Delphine reached her home a beautiful and wealthy young widow, with one child. Subsequently, she married a young French physician, Dr. Louis Lalaurie, who Cable says was considerably her junior. Dr. Lalaurie has been quite obscured in the evil splendor of his wife's reputation, but apparently, he was just as much entitled as she to any bad eminence of the sort; as all the affidavits that were made at the time of the final catastrophe indicate that he was as deeply implicated in any tortures as she was. At any rate, both of them moved in the most distinguished circles; they were rich and hospitable, and at their table the most delightful company frequently assembled, to be charmed by the beautiful and accomplished hostess, and beguiled by her excellent fare and rich old wines. It was in the midst of this gay and brilliant life that the tragic death of old Mme. McCarthy occurred, with the consequences which affected so disastrously the old lady's picturesque and much marrying daughter.

According to a gentleman who claims to be related to the heroine of this thrilling tale, Madame Lalaurie, half-crazed with grief, caused a number of negroes suspected of complicity in the crime to be seized at the scene thereof. They were brought to the Royal street residence and imprisoned, if we trust this authority, in an outbuilding; according to a very respectable eyewitness,—to wit, Placide Canonge, a writer on the "Bee," and afterwards manager of the French Opera,—in the attic of the residence. At any rate they were subjected to very cruel treatment, in the hope of making them confess. They were whipped, placed on starvation diet, loaded with chains, and kept in con-

finement. A writer in the "Bee," who was present on that memorable April day, in 1834, says he saw the collars and manacles used to chain up these poor wretches, and the deep wounds which these instruments had made where they had worn into the flesh. There are various stories as to how these victims of Madame Lalaurie's mania—or rage—or grief—you can take your choice as to her motive—were discovered. The contemporary account published in the "Courier," is that one of the prisoners, a woman, set fire to the attic, in the hope of escaping in the subsequent confusion. The firemen came, and in spite of Monsieur and Madame, both of whom protested indignantly, forced their way up to the top of the building, broke in a door with axes and found—what they found.

We are very fond of excitement, we Orleanians; and this was a chance to enjoy that sort of thing, much too good to be missed. The lacerated and emaciated negroes were taken to the city hall, and there hundreds of people came to glut their eyes upon their misery. It was very interesting. There seems also to have entered into the matter something of that national prejudice which was rife in New Orleans then, when American and Creole hated each other with a vigor and persistency which we milk sops of today find impossible to understand. The Americans seem to have thought that Madame Lalaurie was just the kind of beautiful she-devil that a Creole would naturally be; and the Creoles thought that the Americans were making capital of the incident, in order to discredit what was called the "old population," and train up prejudices that might be profitably exploited at the next election. That, probably, was back of the curious apathy with which the municipal authorities regarded the whole episode. For, after getting the tormented negroes away from Madame Lalaurie, they did nothing to apprehend the culprit; nor, on the other hand, did they seem concerned to prevent the mob from taking on her, personally, or on her property, whatever vengeance it desired.

At any rate, a great crowd assembled unchecked around the building, and was getting ready to attack the place, when all at once an astonishing and dramatic thing happened. The carriage entrance was flung wide open, and through it dashed a carriage drawn by powerful horses lashed to frenzy by a gigantic negro coachman. Within, sat a pale, beautiful, dauntless woman with

flaming eyes and tightly clenched lips. Straight into the crowd rushed the furious animals; the negro on the box plied his lash savagely, and before the startled throng recovered its wits, the expected victim was flying, swift as the wind, down Grand Route St. John, on her way to the bayou. They made frantic efforts to stop the carriage, but in vain. The stratagem was too bold not to be effective. Long before the news of her flight became current in the city, Madame was on board a schooner, on her way across Lake Pontchartrain to Mandeville, where, it is said, she was hospitably received by old friends. Nothing was ever done to disturb the fugitive there, and ultimately Madame and Monsieur both made their way to Europe.

Various stories are told of Madame Lalaurie's subsequent career. Some say she settled in France, lived a few years, and was finally killed in a hunting accident at Pau. Another story is that she died peacefully after many years devoted to good deeds, in her 68th year, and her remains were brought back to New Orleans for interment. Of the colorless Dr. Lalaurie nothing more is known, except that, ten days after arriving in Mandeville, he joined with his wife in executing before a local notary a power of attorney to enable his agent in New Orleans to look after certain properties there, during an absence which he quite rightly expected to be prolonged. Nobody has thought it worth while to find out what finally became of him. I think he died before his wife, possibly while the pair were refugeeing at Mandeville. Somewhere or the other, Madame Lalaurie married a man named Blanque; but whether it was before or after her matrimonial adventure with Lalaurie, deponent knoweth not.

In the meantime, the municipal authorities let the mob glut its passion for destruction on the mansion in Royal street. The job was thorough. When everything in the house had been looted or smashed, fire was set, and for a whole day the place burned. Then, apparently when the crowd was all ready to go home anyhow, the city fathers moved—just a little, you understand; but they moved; and the police went to the spot and told a few loiterers that the show was over. For several years the building remained a ghastly wreck. When Miss Martineau visited New Orleans in 1836 she saw "its gaping windows and empty walls in the midst of a busy street." "It stands," she says "and is meant to stand in its ruined state." Cable, in writing of this

incident, puts stress upon fantastic tales that were then beginning to be told of the ghosts of tortured slaves to be seen holding high carnival within the deserted walls. But I question if Madame Lalaurie ever really killed anybody. It is hardly conceivable that the easy-going city government could have overlooked murder. It overlooked nearly every other sin in the Decalogue, just as it does now; but murder—really, I do not think that, even then, the most astute politician among the city fathers would have allowed his interest in a coming election to blind his eyes to anything quite so bad as that. So in all probability the ghosts of the haunted house first walked in Mr. Cable's brain, about the year 1899, when "*The Strange True Stories of Louisiana*" was printed. But, anyway, they add not a little to the picturesqueness of the strangest and gloomiest legend that New Orleans has.

The Lalauries sold the Royal street house in 1837 for \$14,000. That sum represents about what the site was worth. We must conclude therefore that they had done nothing to restore the ruined building. The new purchaser kept the property a few months, and then parted with it for the same sum that he had paid for it. So he, too, left the place as he found it. Then for twenty-five years it remained in the same hands; and it was during that period, somewhere and sometime, that the place was repaired, or a new structure was evolved which incorporated whatever remained when the mob got done, or the whole business was pulled down and a new house erected. When I went over the building recently, I looked at it from the point of view of the architect, and tried to make up my mind just which one of these three methods was responsible for the structure as it exists at the present time. I could not decide. But for my own pleasure, and with what I am sure is a wholly justifiable desire to get all the possible thrills out of the legend, I am going to believe that the old house wasn't irreparably damaged after all, and that, as we have it today, it isn't so different from what it was when Madame Lalaurie flirted and tortured within its walls; yes, and I am going to believe that in some of these very rooms, just as they are now, that beautiful fiend received the gracious ladies and stately gentlemen that used to frequent her salon, and fluttered her fan and made eyes at them, and all the time was plotting just how she would make Sambo or Dinah squirm the next time she went up to the attic.

In the early '70s the Carpet-bag government which was then making ducks and drakes of Louisiana's finances, selected the Haunted House to shelter one of those public schools which with the blind bigotry of the time, it opened equally to blacks and whites. Mr. Cable tells us that in the rooms "which had once resounded with the screams of Madame Lalaurie's little slave fleeing to her death"—that little slave is one of the main features in the supernatural part of the story—"was being tried the experiment of the common enjoyment of public benefits by the daughters of two widely divergent races, without the enforcement of private social companionship." The experiment was rudely disturbed in 1874, when a detachment of the White League visited the school and expelled all the black pupils. It was rather a futile proceeding, however, for octoroon and mulatress came back a few weeks later, and according to Cable, were graduated in 1877; but after that, the school laws were overhauled, and the mixed schools closed. Then a colored high school was established here, but it lasted only a year or two. The Conservatory of Music which filled the old house with cheerful melodies in 1882 had an equally short life. The next owners were Italians. They opened a saloon on the ground floor and let the place fall into shocking disrepair. At length it became a mere rookery, full of more or less disreputable lodgers. Finally it was bought for \$8,000 and turned into the hotel for unfortunates which, under the name of Warrington House, is known today to everybody in New Orleans.

It must be a matter of regret to every one interested in the history of New Orleans that so few of the names of our older architects have survived the destroying years. Even when we have the opportunity still to admire the work of these by-gone artists, it is rare that we know anything of the personalities behind their buildings. Some of the finest structures in the city perforce remain anonymous. Who was the architect of the old Ursulines Convent? Who drew the plans for the "Veau Qui Tete," that fine old colonial tavern, which, changed and made respectable, now forms a part of the Little Theater? Who gave us the beautifully-proportioned facade of the so-called Napoleon house, or its scarcely-less attractive neighbor, the Girod mansion, on the corner of Chartres and St. Louis streets? We shall never know. And when the creators of these chief landmarks of the city have been forgotten, how can we expect

anything more in the case of the artists of lesser though lovely structures? I would give a great deal to know who designed the lordly old Twiggs Mansion on Margaret Place, where General Butler lived while in New Orleans, and where he got away with three famous swords, one of which the Massachusetts legislature subsequently presented to him. Who planned the handsome Del Bondio house that overlooks Coliseum Place, and was for a long time the home of Sophie B. Wright? Who was it that Thomas Parker, then sheriff of Orleans parish, commissioned in 1869 to build for him that delightfully-proportioned house on St. Joseph street, between Carondelet and St. Charles, that was so long his home, and after him, the home of John Finney, quondam law-partner of Judah P. Benjamin? I cite only a few out of scores of notable buildings in every part of New Orleans.

Where so much has passed into oblivion, we ought, perhaps, to be glad that such men are still remembered as the Galliers, father and son, John and Shepherd Reynolds, Samuel Jamison, J. N. Depouilly, Dakin, Howard, and Dietel. These were probably the cleverest of our local architects. The Galliers were our two greatest. They were men of real genius. Their work would command attention in any city. To them we owe the City Hall, still one of the most satisfactory pieces of classic architecture in the United States in spite of all that progressively unintelligent city administrations have done to damage it; St. Patrick's church, a good piece of work although by no means all that reckless critics have claimed for it; and the Boston Club; all of which yet exist; and the first St. Charles Hotel, the French Opera House, the Merchant's Exchange, and many other superb edifices which, in the course of years, have been destroyed. The elder Gallier, who was a native of Ireland, but came to the United States in 1832, built for himself a home which still stands at 1139 Royal street—a fine example of domestic architecture, unobtrusive but massive, with a courtyard that still gives some hint of its old-time beauty.

We have also the home that Samuel Jamison built for himself. It stands on Baronne street, near Howard Avenue. Jamison built it in 1845 and lived there till his death. It has some interesting literary associations, too, for at one time it sheltered that Mrs. Jamison who wrote "Lady Jane," and many other

charming books about New Orleans. To Jamison we are indebted for such splendid old houses as the Walmesley mansion, at the corner of First and Chestnut, and the Morris house, on the adjacent corner; the magnificent James residence at First and Prytania, and the old McCann house, once the property of Peter Pescud, at Third and Coliseum. DePouilly was the architect of the St. Louis Hotel, and invented the extraordinary dome which covered the rotunda there: a masterpiece of ingenuity and grace, which was swept away in a recent outburst of zeal on the part of the medical profession, whose interest in the "corpore sano" does not always leave room for the "mens sana." The only building that we owe to the Reynolds-brothers of which I know, is the Chism house, at Prytania and Urania, now a boarding-house. John Reynolds had his office at No. 9, Commercial place, next door but one to that of Howard & Dietel. This firm, which was prominent and active over a long series of years, produced the Baldwin mansion at Esplanade and Derbigny streets, erected in 1859-60.

Along with the names of their designers, a great many historic buildings have disappeared from our streets within recent years. That obsession with New York, which has led to so many ill-judged efforts to make New Orleans look like the eastern metropolis—all, thank Heaven, failures—has swept away more than one priceless architectural jewel. Something ought to be done to prevent the vandalism of local officialdom and the injudicious enthusiasms of ignorant business men from working any further destruction. Our history is a common possession, and no individual has the right to destroy its landmarks merely because it suits his convenience or falls in with his caprice. There ought to be a commission with full powers to determine whether an old building should, or should not be removed. There ought to be available funds for the purchase and restoration of places of real historic interest. We might just as well recognize that the only reason why anybody outside of New Orleans is interested in us, is not for what we are now, but for what we have been; not for those things which make us like the rest of America, rich, contented, sleekly prosperous, and hopelessly Philistine, but those things which make us different—the tumble-down houses, the queer, ill-paved streets, the smelly markets, and the lovely cemeteries to which we always take our visitors just before we boast to them of the exceeding healthfulness of the city. When we obliterate one of

the old houses we destroy just that much of our romantic capital, and lessen by just that much the importance of New Orleans in the estimation of the rest of the world. There is not so much of the picturesque in American life today that we can afford to sacrifice any jot of it. We need New York and Chicago, and all those other terrifying but useful places that we have made for ourselves and the worship of Mammon; but we need also a few places into which the questing spirit may escape, where it can forget what it is, and soak up the color and the poetry of the past. New Orleans is, happily, still one such place. Let us hope that we will soon consciously recognize that our great contribution to American civilization can be made only along that line; and that we will set ourselves earnestly and intelligently to spend our wealth in keeping together what, after all, is not our own personal heritage but the heritage of the nation—that legacy of pure romance that comes down to us from the splendid and passionate past, and is shrined in the old buildings, some of which I have tried to recall in these pages.



MORGANALIA

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DAVID MORGAN came from Wales to Philadelphia about 1720, bringing his son Evan with him. The Morgans were of excellent Welsh stock, being descended from John Morgan of Carlaeon. David soon returned to his native Wales, but Evan remained in the new world and married Joanna Biles, of Philadelphia. One of their children was Doctor John Morgan, who organized the medical service of Washington's army, and thus might be called the first surgeon-general of the American army. Dr. Morgan, also founded the first medical school in the United States, now a department of the University of Pennsylvania. John's brother, George (1743-1810), was a member of the prominent mercantile firm of Baynton, Wharton and Morgan, of Philadelphia.¹

After Pontiac's War George Morgan was sent by his firm to the Illinois country to exploit the Indian trade. The rivalry of French and Spanish traders, the cost of transporting goods across the Alleghanies, and the opposition of local military commanders, combined to render this business a losing venture. Morgan also speculated in western lands being one of the organizers of the noted "Indiana Company" which attempted to establish an English colony beyond the mountains. The domain of their grant was claimed by Virginia, which led to litigation that was not ended until 1798, then to the damage of the company. This case is significant because, with *Chisholm versus Georgia*, it was instrumental in evoking the Eleventh Amendment to the Federal Constitution.

During the earlier phases of the Revolution, George Morgan was captain of a Philadelphia militia company. Soon the Continental Congress sent him to Fort Pitt, to act as its agent in keeping up friendly relations with the Indians of that region. Morgan was later appointed Commissary at Fort Pitt, with the rank of colonel.²

¹ Savelle, Max, *George Morgan, Colony Builder*, (N. Y., 1932), ch. 1.

² *Journals of the Continental Congress*, (L. of C. ed.) II-XIV. *passim*.

About 1779 Colonel Morgan, who had married his partner's daughter, Mary Baynton, removed from Philadelphia to his farm at "Prospect," near Princeton, New Jersey. He was one of the foremost scientific farmers of his day and region, and soon Prospect was noted amongst American agriculturists.³ Nevertheless, the lure of the west and the "vision of empire," led Morgan to leave his farm and family temporarily and embark upon another colonizing venture. Under a grant from the Spanish government, he took a group of settlers (1788-1789) across the mountains and the Mississippi, and founded the town of New Madrid, Missouri.⁴

Returning to Prospect, Colonel Morgan continued to develop it until 1796, when he removed with his family to some land which he and his brother John had acquired, southwest of Fort Pitt. Here he established another fine farm, called Morganza, which is in the present Washington county, Pennsylvania, about halfway between Pittsburgh and the county seat, Washington. Aaron Burr visited Morganza in 1806, and let slip various speeches which aroused Morgan's suspicion and resentment. Accordingly he communicated to Jefferson the first intimations of Burr's dubious intentions which the President received. Morgan and his son John were witnesses against Burr in the famous trial at Richmond.⁵

Amongst the ten children of George and Mary Baynton Morgan, two are of interest to us: the second, John, and the ninth, Thomas. John was the progenitor of the Louisiana branch of the Morgans. He married Margaret Bunyan, who bore him nine children. The second of these was Thomas Gibbes Morgan, who was twice married. The children of his (first) marriage to Elizabeth McKernan were Judge Philip Hickey Morgan, of New Orleans, and Harry Morgan, slain prematurely in a duel.⁶ Sarah Fowler, the second wife of Thomas Gibbes Morgan, bore two daughters and four sons. Her second child was Thomas Gibbes Morgan, 2nd, who married Lydia Carter. They were the parents of the Honorable Howell Morgan, former treasurer of Louisiana, and the grandparents of Senator Cecil Morgan, whom the present writer once had the privilege of teaching. The youngest child

³ Savelle, *op. cit.*, ch. viii.

⁴ Savelle, "The Founding of New Madrid, Missouri," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, June, 1932.

⁵ Savelle, *George Morgan*, ch. x.

⁶ Morgan, Jas. M., *Recollections of a Rebel Reefer*, (Boston, 1917), 42-43.

of Thomas Gibbes and Sarah Fowler Morgan was James Morris Morgan, and just older than he was his sister, Sarah. Of these two we shall have occasion to speak presently.

Returning to the children of Colonel George Morgan, we find that his ninth child and sixth son, Thomas, married Catherine Duane. Their eldest child was George Washington Morgan (1820-1893). He was born at Washington, Pennsylvania, and began his education at the college at that place. At the age of 16 he left college to go with his brother to fight for Texan independence (1836-39). Having attained the rank of captain in the Texan army, he returned home and secured an appointment to West Point, but left after two years. Taking up the study of law, he settled in Mount Vernon, Ohio, and served a term or so as district attorney for Knox county.⁷ On the outbreak of the Mexican war (1847) he raised a company at Mount Vernon, but was soon chosen colonel of the Second Ohio, in command of which he served under General Zachary Taylor until after the battle of Buena Vista. In March, 1847, Colonel Morgan was appointed to the command of the newly created Fifteenth United States Infantry, which was assigned to the brigade of General Franklin Pierce, in Scott's army. Morgan was then but twenty-seven years old. He and his regiment served with distinction at Contreras and Churubusco, and he was brevetted brigadier-general, for gallant and meritorious service.⁸ For the next seven years Colonel Morgan was engaged in law and agriculture, at Mount Vernon. President Pierce appointed him consul to Marseilles in 1855, and three years later President Buchanan made him minister to Lisbon. On the outbreak of the Civil War Morgan resigned his diplomatic post and returned to this country to offer his services to the government. He was appointed brigadier-general of volunteers and assigned to the command of a division in Buell's Army of the Ohio. In command of this division he drove the Confederates from Cumberland Gap. Transferred to Sherman's army, he participated in the Vicksburg campaign and commanded the Thirteenth Corps at the capture of Fort Hindman. Poor health and disapproval of the enlistment of negroes caused his resignation, in 1863.⁹ General Morgan served in Congress (as a Democrat), 1867-68, 1869-73.

⁷ *Biographical Congressional Directory*, (Washington, 1913), 875; *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, Jan., 1927, 178-205.

⁸ Nichols, R. F., *Franklin Pierce*, (Philadelphia, 1931), ch. xxii; Smith, J. H., *The War With Mexico*, (N. Y., 1919); I, 562; II, 363, 378.

⁹ Johnson & Buel, *Battles and Leaders*, (N. Y., 1888); III; *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Series 1, 2, 3; *Congressional Globe*, 1867-73.

The Louisiana branch again claims our attention. James Morris Morgan, a native of New Orleans, spent his boyhood in Baton Rouge. Every Louisianian knows him through his fascinating autobiography *Recollections of a Rebel Reefer*. Resigning from Annapolis in 1861, "Jimmie" Morgan became a midshipman in the Confederate navy. His first service was with the Mississippi river flotilla, commanded by Flag-Officer George N. Hollins. This command participated in the fighting about Island Number Ten and New Madrid, in the winter and spring of 1862. Finding that the houses of the (deserted) town of New Madrid interfered with the fire of his guns, Commodore Hollins ordered Midshipman Morgan to take a detail and go ashore and set fire to the town. "I begged him not to send me," said Morgan, "and told him the history of the place . . . and how my ancestor [Colonel George Morgan] had founded the city . . . and that it would be dreadful for me to have to destroy it. The old commodore simply remarked that it would be a singular coincidence and that it was all the more appropriate that I should destroy my ancestor's town." After relating his experiences in doing so, "Jimmie" concludes: "I had undone the work of my ancestor and I was not particularly proud of the job."¹⁰

"Jimmie's" sister, Sarah, should be known and probably is, to every Louisianian through her charming book, *"A Confederate Girl's Dairy."* She married Francis W. Dawson, a young Englishman who had won a captain's commission in the Confederate army. After the war he made his home in Charleston, and was for years the brilliant and fearless editor of the *News and Courier*, of that city. Warrington Dawson, the son of this marriage inevitably took to journalism and literature. It was he who edited and published his mother's *Diary* in 1913. After "playing the newspaper game" in several continents, serving as private secretary to President Theodore Roosevelt, and having innumerable interesting experiences, Dawson settled down to journalism, diplomacy and literature in Paris, becoming an attaché of the American embassy. His acquaintance with continental papers and journalists, and his command of languages, made him invaluable to the Allies during the World War. Towards the end of the war, he began to suffer with a spinal trouble

¹⁰ *Recollections of a Rebel Reefer*, 67-68. Cf. also, *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Series 1, Volume VIII; *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies*, Series 1, Volume XXII.

which now confines him to his rooms, but from his home in Versailles, he continues to do his work for the embassy and to send out numerous literary products of moment—essays, biography, fiction, in both English and French. His most notable novels are *The Pyramid* and *The Gift of Paul Clermont*. The French edition of the latter (*Le Sacrifice de Paul Clermont*, 1926) won the gold medal of the French Academy, being the first book by an American so honored. For his war-time services Mr. Dawson was made a member of the Legion of Honor, and has since been advanced in rank in the Legion, M. Laboulaye, the Director of Political and Commercial Affairs, of the Foreign Office, accompanied by the American Ambassador, have made a special trip to Versailles, October 15, 1930, to bestow "la cravate et la Croix de Commander de la Legion d'Honneur." Mr. Dawson is an active and valued member of the (Paris) Société des Américanistes. In its journal for 1932 he has published a delightful essay entitled "Le Caractère Spécial de la Musique Nègre en Amérique." The article closes with this pregnant sentence: "Et cela fait regretter une fois de plus que le grande majorité des Français, se rendant aux États-Unis, se contentent d'un parcours rapides des grandes villes ou des centres universitaires de Nord, en oubliant les pays Sudistes, la Virginie, la Caroline, la Louisiana, qui méritent au tout premier titre leur attention et leur sympathie."¹¹

Despite his illness, Mr. Dawson has kept up his interest in his native state and city, to such an extent that he is honorary president of the Boy Scouts of Charleston. He received at his apartment, in November 1931, the Boy Scouts of France (who call themselves "Scoots"), with a few representatives of English and American Scouts.

Mr. Dawson's descent from George Morgan, with his intimate relations with France, render peculiarly appropriate a recent activity of his. It will be recalled that in 1931 he published a list of some 308 Frenchmen who had died in the American cause, in Virginia, 1781-82. The city of Williamsburg has erected a memorial tablet to 124 of them, who died within her gates. "It seemed to me," writes Mr. Dawson, "that a tablet should be put up in Versailles also, to the memory of the men who died in Virginia, and I secured the consent of the Curators

¹¹ *Journal de la Société des Américanistes*, Nouvelle Série, Tome XXIV, Fasc. 2, 286. (Paris, 1932).

of the Chateau of Versailles to put my tablet in that historic building, more closely connected than any other European edifice with the history of Franco-American cooperation during our Revolutionary war. It then seemed to me, however, that I should not limit myself to Virginia, and for the past year, I have been continuing my researches to establish as complete a list as possible of the French officers, soldiers and sailors who died on United States soil or in American territorial waters between 1777 and 1783 for the cause of our independence. This has led to a very important extension of my original plan for the tablet. The architects of the Palace now propose to engrave the entire roster of names on tablets to be placed on the wall of a far larger and finer room than the one at present devoted to America, on the ground floor of the Palace. This new room, bearing engraved upon its wall a page from American history, will be the centre of a more extensive collection of Franco-American souvenirs than is possible in the present cramped quarters. But the Curators of the Palace feel the need of advice as to the scope of this new collection, that is to say, whether it should be reserved exclusively for works of art, or whether there should be historical relics and perhaps rare autographs. I, on my side, need the cooperation of American historians in establishing particularly the list of French officers and men in the service of the United States and whose records are consequently not complete in the French archives."¹²

¹² Letter from Warrington Dawson to the author, October 1, 1932. Readers who are disposed to assist Mr. Dawson, may address him at 19 Rue du Maréchal Joffre, Versailles, (S. & O.), France.



✓ **THE CIVIL WAR DIARY OF WILLIAM MICAHAH BARROW**

September 23, 1861-July 13, 1862

Edited by

WENDELL HOLMES STEPHENSON

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and

EDWIN ADAMS DAVIS

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SECOND INSTALLMENT

(Continued from July, 1934, Quarterly)

January 1st 1862. To day I was detailed for guard. stood guard all day. Weather very warm.

January 2nd 1862 This morning I awoke at eight o'clock and went to the guard house, and went off guard. I then eat breakfast, and wrote a letter to Cousin Alex after which I sewed buttons on my coat in the evening. I went on drill. Weather warm.

January 3rd 1862 This morning I was detailed for guard

January 4th 1861 [1862] This morning I came off of guard.

January 5th 1861 [1862] This morning, I got Col Allen to give me a pass to go to Brashear City and he gave it to me. I went and showed it to Capt Favrot⁴⁷ and he told me that Col Allen had no right to give me a pass as he had all ready gave permission to two.

Monday January 6th 1862 Nothing happened of importance worthy of note.

Tuesday January 7th 1862 This morning I went on guard, having been detailed last night. I got on police and went in town after breakfast we were discharged I came to camp and it began to rain and continued raining all day. I staid in my house the best part of the day as the weather did not permit anyone going out.

Wednesday Jan 8th 1862 This morning it was cloudy but did not rain any more until about eleven o'clock when we had a little shower which lasted about half an hour. after dinner, I went down town and came back and read to day's paper went to sleep

⁴⁷ Henry M. Favrot, Capt., Co. F., 4th La. Infy. Resigned May 19, 1862. Succeeded by O. P. Skolfield. See L. C. S., vol. II, p. 822.

and slept until retreat, eat supper composed of coffee beefsteak, rice and milk pickles, orange preserves bread and molasses after supper went and bought a last segar.

Thursday Jan 9th 1862 Today still raining. after breakfast I went and carried my clothes to the washerwoman. After dinner I brought some saw-dust from the saw-mill. after that I eat some piccan candy we had supper composed of coffee, beef, eggs and bread. after supper, I read History Weather very warm Warmer than I have ever seen it during this month.

Friday Jan 10th 1861 [1862] To day, I made up my bed the first thing in the morning. I afterwards cleaned the dishes and after breakfast I went up to the hospital and from there I went and bought some tea. came to camp, eat dinner about three o'clock after dinner I went down town, after returning I cleaned my pistol eat supper soon after Weather cleared off but very warm

Saturday Jan 11th 1862 This morning I was detailed for guard I went on at 10 o'clock for the first time. I came off at twelve, and found out that Vicktor was going home. I went down to the river and saw him off, came back and eat dinner after dinner, I wrote a letter to Sister Lise.⁴⁸ after that I went on guard again Weather very warm sky cloudy.

Sunday Jan 12th 1862 This morning after coming off of guard and eating breakfast, we had inspection after that I fixed the mess tent. after that I wrote a letter to Uncle Herman after that I eat an orange. I resolved from this day not to smoke any thing and hope I will succeed in my resolution. Weather to day cloudy—but very warm.

Monday Jan 13th 1862 This morning after breakfast Col Allen marched the whole regiment down to the Fort about two miles from here we had a very unpleasant time going down it was foggy. after we got there they fired one of the canons to show us how well they were drilled we returned about one left the fort at twelve and it rained nearly all the time coming back. Weather turning cold by night.

Tuesday Jan 14th 1862 This morning after breakfast I mailed a letter, after dinner I read. Weather rainy.

Wednesday Jan 15th 1862 This morning after breakfast I wrote a letter after that I made some tent pins to raise my tent

⁴⁸ Wife of A. D. Barrow, Willie's brother.

after dinner I read the news paper. Weather very bad raining all day the camp is nothing but one mud puddle.

Thursday Jan 16th 1862 Nothing of importance happened to day Weather very bad.

Friday Jan 17th 1862 This morning after roll call I was detailed for guard went on guard at twelve came off at 1 o'clock

Saturday Jan 17th [18] 1862 This morning after drill I walked down town returned, and eat dinner, after which I went down town again Weather, good

Sunday January 19th 1862 This morning after breakfast I went over the river had a *splendid* time staid until the cars came in and then came across. came to camp eat dinner and after dinner went to sleep after that I went on dress parade. Weather very warm and a beautiful sunset.

Monday January 20th 1862 Nothing of importance happened to day Weather very warm

Tuesday 21st 1862 This morning after breakfast I went over to Brashear to get a pair of boots footed, returned and got dinner in the evening. I employed myself by reading.

Wednesday January 22 62 This morning after I got up I went to the Mess and got warm. after breakfast I went and fixed my clothes to take home after dinner I read the three Gua[r]dsmen Weather very cold.

Thursday January 23 This morning, after breakfast I went on drill we drilled until half past eleven, when we went back I hurried and got my furlough went accross the bay and took the cars left at 1 o'clock got to New Orleans at six went to Cousin Jane Greens and from there went to the Opera House⁴⁹ and saw the play of *The Lady of Lyons*.⁵⁰ Weather pretty cold

Friday January 24 1862 This morning, after breakfast, I took the Cotton⁵¹ and left New Orleans at nine o'clock with James Flower Bill Carter a[nd] D. Weathersby⁵² I did not have quite enough money to pay passage on the boat but told them I would

⁴⁹ He probably alludes to the French Opera House which was built in 1859. It was destroyed by fire in 1919. Adelina Patti sang here in 1861.

⁵⁰ "The Lady of Lyons" was a romantic five-act play by Sir Edward Bulwer-Lytton, first produced in 1838. The play was originally called "The Adventurer."

⁵¹ River steamer, converted into a gunboat and renamed the "J. A. Cotton". It was iron cased, and mounted one long 32 pounder, four 24 pounders, and two 6 pounder rifles. The commander was Capt. E. W. Fuller. It was burned Jan. 14, 1863, in lower Bayou Teche. See *O. R.*, ser. I, vol. XV, pp. 175, 179, 180, 184-86, 234-37, 245, 297, 388, 1194.

⁵² Pvt. James Flower, Co. F., 4th La. Infy. See *L. C. S.*, vol. II, p. 873. Probably Sam Weathersbee, Pvt., Co. F., 4th La. Infy., as he was on furlough beginning January 23. See *L. C. S.*, vol. III, bk. II, p. 1014.

pay as I came back Weather very cold. saw plent[y] of ducks in the river. saw one that had been wounded like to have passed over it.

Saturday January 25th To day I arrived at Lobdell's Store⁵³ about ten o'clock after going to Bayou Sara. I found them all well.

Sunday January 26th 1862 In the evening I went hunting.

Monday January 27th 1862. At Home.

Tuesday January 28th 1862 Went to the Tableaux Vivants at Madame Victors.⁵⁴

Wednesday January 29th 1862 Went over to Baton Rouge in the evening and went to the Tableaux—but was not able to cross the river, as it was raining and Walker did not have any one to cross me, so I went to the Harney House⁵⁵ with Tony and staid all night.

Wednesday January 29th 1862 Went to Mr Bogel's⁵⁶ and borrowed .50 to pay for our stay at the Harney House as we did not have enough money. I then went across the river, went to the depot and put on a clean shirt.

Thursday January 30 1862 This morning it was raining started for home with Sister Lise in the buggy. the roads were miserable. we went around by the river—but the roads were very bad got home about twelve o'clock found all the trees eat[en] up by the sheep. brother Alex, who had come up home on horseback, gave Denis and Manda a good whip[p]ing during the evening. I read Theirs French Revolution after supper, had egg-nog and played cards

Friday January 31st 1862 Still at home Weather cloudy.

Saturday Feb[r]uary 1st 1862. This morning after breakfast I started to go to Lobdells Store to take the Cotton got almost there when she blew her whistle so I had to turn around and go as fast as I could to Wall's Store,⁵⁷ and then liked to have missed the boat got on and went down landed at the Depot took on Vicks Freight, got to New Orleans at half past nine.

⁵³ River landing six or seven miles North of Port Allen, Louisiana.

⁵⁴ This sort of entertainment was a popular method of raising money for relief work. At one presented in Baton Rouge about six weeks before Willie's attendance, there were Tableaux of the "Goddess of Liberty," the "Confederate States", the "Nine Muses", and the scene at the Spanish Court when Queen Isabella presented her jewels to Columbus. At that entertainment one table "absolutely groaned on its legs with the weight of paper dollars; Confederate tens and twenties [were] strewn about loosely as though it cost nothing to make them."—See Baton Rouge *Weekly Gazette and Comet*, Dec. 21, 1861.

⁵⁵ A famous old Baton Rouge hotel.

⁵⁶ A Baton Rouge pharmacist.

⁵⁷ Another river landing about two miles North of Lobdell's store.

Sunday Feb[r]uary 2nd 1862 Left New Orleans at half past seven, went over the river took the cars and had a pleasant trip, read the Southern Monthly,⁵⁸ smoked a segar and had a very pleasant trip. got to camp about one o'clock found all well. Went to get my clothes but they were not washed. Weather cloudy. at night I was detailed for guard for to morrow eight o'clock raining very bad. the camp is very muddy. sky cloudy.

Monday Feb[r]uary 3rd 1862 Went on guard this morning but they did not post us. I wrote a letter to Brother Alex whilst they were drilling after dinner I read the Three Gua[r]dsmen and about three o'clock I had to [re]place the man on number 2, to guard a prisoner at the guard house. it began to rain about six, and I was in hopes it would continue but it has stop[p]ed and the sky looks to be very clear.

Tuesday Feb[r]uary 4th 1862 This morning I slept until after guard mounting got up, washed dressed and went to breakfast after which I went over to Brashear to get my boots. staid until twelve o'clock returned eat dinner smoked my pipe read the Three Guardsmen, and boiled some syrup over that was sour. I passed the rest of the day doing nothing. Weather damp very muddy.

Wednesday Feb[r]uary 5th 1862 Nothing of importance happened to day

Thursday Feb[r]uary 6th 1862 This morning we had bat-taillion drill suprintended by Captain Favrot after we were through drilling I read the three Guardsmen. after dinner I went over the Bay to get my carpet bag—but did not succeed in getting it. Weather very warm & pleasant. Wind blowing hard from the south

Friday Feb[r]uary 7th 1862 This morning I arose after a very unpleasant night after breakfast, I read the Picayune of yesterday and then we had to police the camp. after that I read The 3 Gua[r]dsmen after dinner I returned to my house and read the paper of to day, then tried to go to sleep. Weather very sultry a pretty stiff breeze from south, towards evening cloudy and prospects of rain.

Saturday Feb[r]uary 8th 1862 Today I was on guard

Sunday Feb[r]uary 9th 62 To day being sunday of course there was no drill and as it was very cold and raining we had no

⁵⁸ Cost him twenty-five cents. See account of February 1, Appendix II.

inspection. I read the Three Guardsmen before dinner. after dinner they had preaching—but I did no[t] go. We had a clear sunset, and it turned off very cold so there is some prospects of good weather.

Monday Feb[r]uary 10th 1862 This morning I got up and answered to my name washed and eat breakfast after which I policed the camp, and then went over the bay returned before ten o'cl[oc]k I wrote two letters, and then went to dinner. after that I finished reading the Three Guardsmen and went to Lawrence's sugar house and got some syrup. got back just in time for D. Parade Weather very good sky clear.

Tuesday Feb[r]uary 11th 1862 To day after breakfast I read Dante and from that I went out on drill when I got through I began to read Dante after dinner I went to the sugar house of Mr Lawrence to get some syrup. after that, I came to camp and talked aw[h]ile with some of my friends until Dress Parade Weather this morning was very cold, in the middle of the day the sun was pretty warm Wind from the north

Wednesday 12th 1862. To day I was on guard—but did not have to stand during the day. at night we had to stand guard.

Thursday 13th 1862. This morning I slept until breakfast time. after that I read, and after dinner we got a dispatch from Ruggles, to get ready to march to New Orleans at an hour's notice, so we all went to packing and getting ready. after supper, we had speeches from the officers.

Friday 14th 1862. Feb All packed up ready to go Weather cold.

Saturday 15th Feb. 1862 To day we were all packed up ready to go but no orders have reached here yet. Weather cold.

Sunday Feb[r]uary 16th 1862. This morning I was up early—but no orders to leave. I carried my gun to the gunsmith to get fiked in the evening we had general inspection. Weather cloudy—but not rainy.

Monday Feb[r]uary 17th 1862. No orders received yet. raining like everything.

Tuesday Feb[r]uary 18th 1862. No orders yet, very cloudy and showers. bad news received about our reverse at Donelson.⁵⁹ men all gloomy.

⁵⁹ Fort Donelson surrendered Feb. 16, 1862.

Wednesday Feb[r]uary 19th To day I was on guard. it was raining when the guard were mounted we had only to stay at the guard house while our relief was on. Weather cleared off.

Thursday Feb[r]uary 20th 1862. This morning I was awaken[ed] by the whoops and hollowing of the men that were leaving, the St. Helenas,⁶⁰ two Hunter Rifles,⁶¹ and the L. P. Cadets⁶² after breakfast they marched down to the landing accompanied by our company the National Guards,⁶³ & the Tirralleurs.⁶⁴ they got off about twelve o'clock, and the men returned to cam[p]. Gen Duncan⁶⁵ came here from New Orleans.

Friday, Feb[r]uary 21st 1862. This morning—as the band left yesterday—we all slept pretty late. after breakfast I went fishing for crabs. after dinner the orders came for us to leave to morrow morning at six o'clock. after supper I was handed a piece of a Baton Rouge Advocate and saw the death of cousin Effie.⁶⁶ Weather very war[m]. Sky very cloudy. prospects of rain, before morning wind from the south.

New Orleans Feb[r]uary 22nd 1862. We were up early this morning packing getting ready to start we got every thing off on the other side by eight o'clock. we left there at nine and traveled as gentlemen ought to in a decent car and had a very nice time. we got to New Orleans about 4 o'clock in the evening. came to the La Cotton press,⁶⁷ from there to the Factors press, after that Vick, Sewell Key⁶⁸ and I went to the St. Charles

Sunday, New Orleans, Feb 23 This morning I came from the St. Charles hotel to the cotton Press, staid there for a while and then went out in town again came back about twelve o'clock. In the evening I got permission to go out in town again and went to the St. Charles. came back and went to bed early. Weather very pleasant the city was crowded for such gloomy times. there was not much news in New Orleans.

Monday N. O. Feb. 24th 1862 This morning I awoke after a very pleasant sleep on the floor of the Press. I made my toilet and waited for Henry Green⁶⁹— but as he did not come as he

⁶⁰ St. Helena Rebels, Co. F., 4th La. Infy. See *L. C. S.*, vol. I, p. 15.

⁶¹ Cos. A. and B., 4th La. Infy. See *L. C. S.*, vol. I, p. 11.

⁶² Lake Providence Cadets, Co. C., 4th La. Infy. See *L. C. S.*, vol. I, p. 11.

⁶³ Co. B., 4th La. Infy. See *L. C. S.*, vol. I, p. 13.

⁶⁴ Probably the Tirailleur's D'Orleans, Co. I., 10th La. Infy. See *L. C. S.*, vol. I, p. 16.

⁶⁵ Probably Brig. Gen. S. K. Duncan. *L. C. S.*, vol. II, p. 713.

⁶⁶ Wife of Bartholomew Barrow, not related to Willie.

⁶⁷ Cotton presses were often used as barracks for soldiers.

⁶⁸ Probably N. S. Key, Co. F., 4th La. Infy. See *L. C. S.*, vol. III, bk. I, p. 554.

⁶⁹ Cousin Jane Green's son.

promised to do after dinner I went to see him, and went down to see a fire on New Basin⁷⁰ it was a very large fire I came back to the press at half past four and went on Dress Parade in Annunciation square. Orders were read to us to leave to morrow.

Tuesday, N. O. Feb 25 1862 This morning I was detailed for guard. after breakfast cousin David⁷¹ came to the Press and went out in town with him I got back in time to go off with the baggage went to the R. R. D. we left New Orleans about three o'clock. it was night before we got to Camp Moore; the whole road through the Parish of St. Helena was lit up with bon-fires, and the people were hurraing and holloring all along.

Wednesday Miss. Feb 26th 62 This morning we awoke after a very unpleasant rest during the night sleeping on a bench. we got to Canton about eight o'clock, and had to change cars. I took breakfast in the town, potato coffee, cannon balls for biscuits butter,—but the syrup was first-rate. we left there about seven o'clock. at every little station the boys run out to get something to eat at every place.

Thursday Tenn. 27th 1862. This morning I awoke after having half-slept during the night on the seats of the car. I tried to get some thing to eat but did not succeed until we arrived at a small station where we succeeded in getting some ginger-bread—that kept us alive until we got to Grand Junction when all the boys left the cars and we managed to get something to eat. the cars left Grand Junction about two o'clock. when we had got five miles from there we had to get out to push the cars along, on account of the bends in the road and the large train that he had behind; we got to this place (Jackson) about three o'clock and came to the Fare grounds to sleep the people sent up some hams and crackers butter and bread. we got a pretty fare supper broiled the ham on the coals. The weather here feels pretty cold having left such a warm climate behind.

Friday, Tenn. 28th 1862. This morning I awoke very cold, having slept in the open air on the boards. for breakfast we had bacon broiled on the fire and biscuits. our baggage came about nine o'clock, so we went to work and pitched our tents, and got boards to floor the tents my tent mates are J. V. Duralde Sewell

⁷⁰ Probably the artificial basin built in 1832 just beyond Rampart street and between Julia and Delord streets. It was much used by coasting schooners.

⁷¹ David N. Barrow's father and Willie's father were half brothers.

Key, Blouin and Moore, five in a tent five feet long four feet wide. Moore dug the ditch around the tent after dinner I went on Dress Parade. Weather very good but little cloudy.

Saturday, Tenn. March 1st 1862. This morning I was up early after one of the best sleeps I have ever had in a tent. after breakfast we had regimental drill. after that I came and read and went to sleep. after dinner I went down in the town of Jackson went to the hospital where were strewed the sick from nearly all the states in the confederacy. Louisiana had no representative as they all left yesterday for their homes. poor fellows—some were on the point of death others were convalescent I saw one who was as thin as a human being could be. The town of Jackson is as large as Baton Rouge. you see one thing in the Streets that you do not see down our way, and that is deep cellars, covered over with gradings. the women here are some of the prettiest I have ever seen I cannot judge the climate as the winter is such a mild one.

Sunday March 2nd 1862. Camp Beauregard. This morning I was detailed for guard. took my equipments and went on guard. the number of posts were twenty. Weather rainy and at night very cold.

Monday March 3rd 1862, Tenn This morning after coming off of guard, I went to bed and slept until eleven o'clock got up and went to work to get warm in the evening I went in town. Weather very cold. freezing

Tuesday March 4th 1862 This morning after breakfast I went and read, and that is about all I did Weather very cold.

Wednesday March 5th 1862 Nothing of importance occurred to day Weather very cold.

Thursday March 6th '62 Too lazy to write.

Friday March 7th 1862 To day I read Mackintock book of Indians and went down town in the evening. Weather very cold. detailed for guard in the morning.

Saturday March 8th 1862. This morning pretty cold I went on guard and got the second relief the day passed off very pleasant weather got warm in the evening. I had some trouble with my guard at night as they did not all attend to their duties.

Sunday March 9th 1862 This morning after getting up, I made my toilet such as can be made in camp and lo[u]nged around all day. Weather pleasant.

Monday, Camp Beauregard, Jackson, Tenn. Ma[r]ch 10th 1862. This morning as it was raining we did not have roll call and I slept until eight o'clock. Took my knapsack down town, after breakfast to get fixed; in the evning I went out in the country to look for chickens and eggs—but did not succeed in getting any. Passed through the woods and stop[p]ed at a creek and washed my feet, the country around here is filled with creeks. Weather very pleasant. In the evening after supper I went down town with some of my friends, and saw some very pretty girls. Weather very pleasant, the rain last night did not make it muddy or cold. The people here are very kind to the men they speak very highly of our regiment, they say they think it the finest they have seen come to this place. Orders were read on dress parade from Gen. Bragg. Vick, Major of 4th

Tuesday, Jackson, Tenn. March 11th 62 To day nothing of note passed off.

Wednesday, Tenn March 12th 62 This morning after getting up I got a pass and went in town with Sewell Key after dinner I went out in the woods to a creek to wash. in the evening after supper I went out in town. Weather very pleasant. Cloudy towards night.

Thursday, Tenn. March 13th 1862 This morning after getting up I went down in town to see some yankee prisoners (three) which had escaped from Memphis and were caught and brought here. we asked them different questions they said they were not fighting for Lincoln—but for the Union they said they were treated very kindly. in the evening I read a little. we had dress parade in the evening after supper I started out walking with Vick Duralde and Frank Cheatham,⁷² we had not gone far before Col Allen came along and told us to go back that we would leave in two hours

Friday, Mobile R R. March 14th 62 We left Jackson last night about 10 o'clock. it was a very pretty sight to see the whole regiment marching by moonlight. we had a very pleasant nights rest this morning we stop[p]ed at a place where the yankees had torn a piece of the railroad up we staid there until one o'clock it began raining about twelve, and we had to stand in the rain. we got to Bethel about dusk some of us were wet through.

⁷² Pvt., Co. F., 4th La. Inftry. See L. C. S., vol. II, p. 321.

[No date] We staid at Bethel about a week when we went to Corinth. we threw up entrenchments here and after remaining at Corinth for a week, we marched to Monterey, and from Monterey we went on towards The Tennessee river. the reason that I did not keep up my regular diary is that I lost my lead pencil, and was not able to get one

April 1st 1862 & 2nd St Monterey

April 3rd 1862. 4th & 5th Marching towards the Tennessee river.

April 6th 1862. Battle⁷⁸ This morning we marched in battle array one of the finest armies in the Confederacy hard fighting all day. we whipped the yankees

April 7th 1862. This morning I awoke early after having slept in a yankee tent. the weather was bad it had rained nearly all night. the regiment was drawn up in line (what was left of it) we marched to battle and I was taken prisoner about one o'clock.

April 8th 1862. Battle Field This morning I awoke early. quite different from yesterday, a prisoner of war. I was with the wounded such a sight men wounded in all parts of the body I nursed them as well as I could. some of them were dying. I had very little to eat.

Wednesday 9th 1862. This morning I awoke early after setting up half the night with the wounded they were all much better they began moving them about nine o'clock to the river; about one I went with one load. got to the river at two o'clock and a man separated me from the wounded and carried me to General Buells quarters on the Empress. he had me sent to the provost-marshal and from there I went where the rest of the prisoners were

Thursday 10th 1862. This morning I was up early as there was no use to attempt to sleep. we had nothing to eat until nine o'clock when they brought us a barrel of crackers and some bacon. we fried the bacon on sticks. Lord deliver me from such hard ships. sitting on the ground trying to keep warm our eyes filled with smoke and no handkerchief to blow my nose on. sky cloudy.

Friday April 11th 1862 This morning it commence[d] to rain. we had nothing to eat but what was given us the day before we staid in the rain trying to keep as dry as possible before the

⁷⁸ Battle of Shiloh (Pittsburg Landing), April 6 and 7, 1862.

fires. about two o'clock the provost marshal came and called us out in two ranks and called the roll to see if we were all there; they then marched us between two rows of Wisconsin troops to the river where we got aboard the Woodford. I slept on some straw; went to bed without anything to eat, but slept pretty sound notwithstanding the poor accom[m]odations.

Saturday April 12th 1862. This morning I awoke Early after a pretty sound sleep had for breakfast a piece of bacon, a hard cracker and a little coffee. we got out of the Tennessee in to the Ohio river about twelve o'clock got to Paducah about 1 o'clock. for dinner I had a piece of bacon and a hard cracker. this afternoon I got a paper of the 10th giving an account of the battle of Pittsburgh.⁷⁴ we got to Cairo about 4 o'clock in the evening where we staid until 10 o'clock. Weather sultry.

Sunday April 13th 1862. This morning I awoke bright and early as usual. had for breakfast a hard cracker and some coffee. got a little soap and succeeded in getting a little dirt off my hands. for dinner I had the same as for breakfast, a hard biscuit and some coffee. we were in the Mississippi river running five miles an hour. Weather cool but pleasant I changed my bed from the straw to some hard boards.

Monday April 14th 1862 This morning I awoke and found myself in St Louis Mo.

April 23rd 1862 We staid in St Louis for two or three days and from there came to Chicago Camp Douglas⁷⁵ where they keep all their prisoners the reason I have not kept up my regular journal is that I have been suffering with dysinterry.⁷⁶ the weather here is very cold and goes very hard with the boys from the south

Chicago Sunday April 27th 1862 I am now getting over my attack of dysinterry and will commence my journal again. We are very well fixed off for prisoners. our quarters are plenty large enough and we are permitted to go out and walk in the inclosure. To day I read and slept the day away. I took a dose of medicine before going to bed. Weather is getting warmer. the wind was from the south all day.

⁷⁴ Pittsburg Landing or Shiloh.

⁷⁵ Commanded during Willie Micajah Barrow's imprisonment by Col. J. A. Mulligan and Col. J. H. Tucker. In February, 1862, Camp Douglas had barracks sufficient for 8,000 to 10,000 prisoners. See O. R., ser. II, vol. III, pp. 274, 297; vol. IV, pp. 576, 759.

⁷⁶ Dysentery caused Willie's death, Resaca, Georgia, Dec. 14, 1863.

Chicago Monday April 28th 1862 This morning I was up early after breakfast which consisted of a piece of toast and some arrow root, I read and play[ed] a game of eucré. they treat us as if we were their own soldiers give us the same rations and everything that is necessary: for dinner we had irish potatoes and hominy in the evening I past away the time by sleeping and reading. The weather is moderating and getting quite pleasant. Wind from the south.

Chicago Tuesday April 29th 1862. To day the weather was very pleasant and I hope it will continue so as I am a great deal better. I past the morning drawing rations and reading after dinner I read and got water for the cook.

Wednesday April 30th This morning I was up early. toasted some bread for breakfast after breakfast I read and past the time very pleasant. Weather very mild.

Thursday May 1st 1862. I was up early this morning and learnt that I was to be the cook for the day I started and made coffee for breakfast; for dinner I had beans, fried beef, and irish potatoes. after dinner I cleaned the pots and then past some of my time reading. for supper we had coffee and bread. I past the rest of my time playing whist. Weather is a little rainy. My imprisonment is beginning to pass away a little better than when I was sick

Chicago Camp Douglas Friday May 2nd 1862 This morning I was up made my toilet, eat breakfast and afterwards I finished the book I was reading, and then played whist until dinner. for dinner we had a very good soup and a salad made of beef, onions and potatoes after dinner I read, until supper. Weather is very pleasant in comparison to what it was. News in the papers relate the capture of New Orleans.⁷⁷

Camp Douglas Saturday May 3rd 1862 This morning I was up early after breakfast I went down in the camp to see B. McGruder, and old member of the Delta Rifles, and was transfer[r]ed to Stewarts Artillery and was taken prisoner at Island 10⁷⁸ and brought to this place. I staid with him about an hour and then came back to my quarters and washed my towel and pocket handkerchief after dinner I read the newspaper Weather very pleasant. Men in good health.

⁷⁷ April 25, 1862.

⁷⁸ April 7, 1862.

Chicago May 4th 1862 Camp Douglas This morning I was up little later than usual. blacked my shoes as it was sunday and fixed myself as nice as possible. after breakfast I read six chapters in the New Testament afterwards I lounged around until dinner time after dinner I walked down in camp. My mess-mates are as follows, Wilson, Watkins, Fusiler Thompson, Alexander Hardell, Morhead, Shultz, Bruce, O. Rouke, De Clouet, Oldenmeyer, Lorenza, Ronsel, Caveroc, Thibodeaux.

Chicago Moday May 5th Nothing worthy of note occur[r]ed to day

Tuesday May 6th 1862 To day we moved quarters as the ones we were in were needed for the yankee soldiers.

[No date] Nothing of importance occurs during the lonesome days passed in quarters surrounded by a high fence, with a chain of sentinels around the camp.

Chicago Camp Douglas May 14th 1862 This morning after breakfast I read "Travels in Denmark & Sweden"; we got some books through the kind ladies in St Louis, and we get books at this place through a parson (Presby) by the name of Tutle. Our dinner to day was very good for prisoners-of-war; we had beef-steak, mashed-irish-potatoes, and a bread-pudding with a nice sauce. the beef-steak and potatoes was the ration but the sauce was not.

Chicago Camp Douglas May 18th 1862 Yesterday evening I received a letter from Uncle John E. Barrow;⁷⁹ he spoke of having me transfer[r]ed from here to that place (St Joseph Mo) through his influence with the officer commanding. To day being sunday I kept the day holy. read the Testament and a religious book that I had borrowed from Parson Warren, an old school-mate of mine, taken prisoner at Island 10.

Chicago Monday, May 19th 1862 This morning after breakfast I went to the post-office to see if there was any thing for me but found nothing. I past the rest of the forenoon reading; in the evening I went to see B. Magruder who I heard was sick. The weather here is quite cold to day so much so that we have a fire.

Tuesday, May 20th 1862 To day the sun was up bright and early. after breakfast I past the fore part of the day reading;

⁷⁹ Willie's uncle, Indian Agent at St. Joseph, Mo. He traded between St. Joseph and Salt Lake City. Later he moved to New York City and became wealthy.

in the evening I went around in the camp for exercise; towards evening it became cloudy and commenced to rain.

Tuesday, May 27th 1862 This morning I was up early the weather had changed from very warm yesterday to quite cold to day. nothing of importance happened during the day.

Wednesday May 28th 1862. This morning I was up just in time to wash my face and eat my breakfast after that I finished the book that I was reading "A life for a life." News came into camp that there would soon be a general exchange of prisoners, but I do not credit such reports. I commence[d] reading Long Fel [Longfellow's] Poems.

Thursday May 29th 1862 This morning I was up again just in time to get breakfast, getting to be a late riser after breakfast I went and brought some water as it was my turn after that, I commence[d] reading the Monte of Cristo [The Count of Monte Christo], after dinner which consisted of roast-beef and a salad.

Sunday June 1st 1862 To day was a miserable day rain a cold wind, muddy, in fact, I have never experience[d] a worse one,—I had to go to bed to keep warm I tried to read—but it was too cold and disagree[e]able: how people can live in such a climate I canno[t] conceive. We received the news of the evacuation of Corinth by Beauregard⁸⁰ I am reading the Count of Monte Christo which is very interesting.

Tuesday June 3rd 1862 This morning I was up early and finished reading the 1st Vol of the Count of Mo[n]te Christo before breakfast. after breakfast I wrote a letter to Uncle John E Barrow after dinner I tried my hand at making biscuits after supper I went to see McGruder, who was sick.

Wednesday June 4th 1862 This morning the first thing I caught was a body louse, Ugh! well that was strange, I did not know what kind of a louse it was. All night I was restless, scratching away at what I supposed to be the rash. the doctor had gave me an ointment for it but it had got no better, in the evening I thought I would wash my neck and put on a clean undershirt. I got every thing ready. I look[ed] in my unclean shirt and lo! & behold! it was filled with lice, horrid! the whole mess profiting by my discovery we soon had a tub full of the varmint

⁸⁰ May 30, 1862.

Chicago Thursday June 5th 1862 This morning after breakfast I washed my clothes, after that I past the rest of my time in reading until dinner for dinner we had our rations of beef & mouton [mutton] (roasted) then we had soup, a liver fixed up in a German way call[ed] (*lipser*), and pie and strawberries and a bread pudding, the last was a treat of Mr. Fonbert as it was his twenty-fifth birthday. After dinner we had a very exciting Louse hunt.

Chicago Friday June 6th 1862. This morning after breakfast I went down to parson Warrens quarters to see him. I then returned and wrote a letter to Uncle John E. Our new guards (thirty day men) came in here; they will relieve the men that have been guarding us. they will go into active service. after dinner I took a nap and read Monte Christo. The weather is very fine to day we had a beautiful sunset. I notice[d] large swarms of knats as on the Gulf Shore, during summer

Saturday June 7th 1862 This morning before breakfast I read Monte Christo and finished reading it after breakfast. then commenced the second volume of Longfellows Poems. after dinner I took a nap; this evening we had a sudden change in the weather the wind turned to the north. A rumor was spread through the camp that we would be paroled; we also received news that Ft. Pillow had been evacuated.⁸¹

Sunday June 8th 1862. To day I read the Parlor Annual, a book that I got from the liabrary in the camp After supper I heard a sermon preached by parson Warren.

Monday June 9th 1862. This morning after breakfast I proceeded to the Rebel library to return my book but found out that I had to come in the evening. I came back and read & past the best part of the day in reading.

Tuesday June 10th 1862 This morning after break fast I went to draw the rations and got a book from the liabrary. I finish[ed] Marryatts novel called "Kings Own." we had a dispute who should go and dig a pit. they wanted two from our mess so we concluded to cast lots it fell on Thompson and Hardell but by the time they had finished casting lots the pit was dug. Weather is now very pleasant, quite warm.

⁸¹ June 4, 1862.

Wednesday June 11th 1862 To day I pass[ed] the best part of my time in reading Percival Keene by Capt Marryatt. At night we had an eclipse of the moon.

Thursday June 12 1862. I commenced read[ing] the Lives of the Queens of Scotland to day. after breakfast I went down to the post Office. Before dinner I had a very pleasant nap. after dinner I went down to the Library and had a very pleasant time with young Drinx

Friday June 13 1862 This morning after breakfast I went to the post office came back and read and played a few games of draughts after dinner I read and went to sleep; the weather is very pleasant, a little cold from the rain of last night. Reports keep coming about the exchange of prisoners I only hope and pray that it is true and that I may soon be in my native land once again.

Manday June 23rd 1862 To day we had a strange proceeding. we were ordered to be in front of our quarters at one o'clock. We obeyed the cowards orders, and were marched all into two squares, and guards placed all around us while we were in the squares. guards around us with loaded guns. then the brave yanks came with Police from Chicago went around in the prisoners quarters. took watches, money, Guata Percha rings sigars clothes etc. then the Police robbers came through our ranks and searched us, takin[g] pocket knives & money. The once United states giving commissions to officers who are afraid of prisoners pocket knives. one incident is worthy of note. there was a company of Tennesseans who were thinking of taking the oath but after the pro-ceedings of this evening they concluded that the Confederacy was the best government.⁵²

Friday June 27th 1862 Chicago To day I finished Beulah written by Miss Augusta Evans. I saw a group of Point Coupee Artil[l]ery taken in a daguerreotype. The weather to day was very warm the warmest day I have seen here yet—but at present (5 o'cl[oc]k) it has clouded up and threatens rain. I read a letter in the Chicago Evening journal of yesterday regarding our search by the Police on the 23rd inst. Wind from the south.

Saturday June 28th 1862. This morning I was up pretty early commenced to read Rutledge⁵³—I fixed up some salad greens

⁵² For an interesting version of this incident see O. R., ser. II, vol. IV, p. 193.

⁵³ Augusta Evans Wilson, Mobile, Ala., was also the author of "Beulah".

for dinner out of Radish tops they were very nice. I first boiled them in water, then cut them up very find and put some grease in the pan and a little flour and browned it. then I put my greens back and a little water and stewed them, they were very nice. Weather was very pleasant.

Monday June 29th 1862. This morning I finished Rutledge and in the evening we received the news of our successes in Virginia.⁸⁴ the whole encampment was filled with the greatest enthusiasm. the men were run[n]ing all over the camp for papers—but the yankees would not permit the paper boys to come in the camp. however we succeeded in getting one or two papers and received the news— Hurrah! for Seceshindom Good! for Jackson⁸⁵

Saturday July 12th 1862 This morning about ten o'cl[oc]k one of the yankee soldiers came and told me that there was a gentleman at the gate who wished to see me. I went and found my Uncle there he had come from Missouri to see me; at last I succeeded in seeing him after waiting at headquarters [a] little over two hours; we had to converse with a clerk standing by us to listen to what we said so we only talked of family affairs. he let me have twenty five dollars and told me he would send me a box as soon as he got home.

Sunday July 13th 1862 This morning I read and passed the day very agre[e]ably.

Camp Douglas August 25th 1862

My dear Aunt

I was happy yesterday to receive your latter also one from Fannie Pratt who was in Chicago. I am very sorry that I stop[p]ed writing after my first letter failed to reach you. I have been here now nearly five months You mention nothing of Herman, did not I tell you in my letter that he was alive and was in the 10th Georgia regiment and must have been in the seven days fight befor[e] Richmond. he goes by the name of Henry Noble. he wrote me whilst at Berwick City. I received a letter from Alex the other day. he was at home with his little wife. he said nothing of Aunt Sophia therefor[e] I take it for granted that she is well. I am much obliged to you for the offer of aid, but

⁸⁴ The Peninsula Campaign, 1862.

⁸⁵ "Stonewall" Jackson had just won victories in the Shenandoah Valley over Generals Banks and Frémont.

I have an Uncle in Missouri who sent me money and also some from home. We are expecting to leave every day for Dixie. You say nothing of Grandpa I hope he is not dead. My regiment the 4th Louisiana has been in two fights since I have been a prisoner, at Vicksburg and at Baton Rouge. I would give all I am worth to have been in the fight at Baton Rouge, although a battle is no desirable place. I will send you my photograph in my next letter. Aunt Sophia did not like my going to the wars; the last time I saw her she was on a steamboat making clothes for the soldiers. Write immediately on receipt of this. We are not allowed to write but one page. With love to all I remain as ever your affectionate nephew

W M BARROW

Camp Douglas Sept 6th 1862

My dear Aunt

Your letter just reached me, and I leave for the South today. I am very glad that I got it before I left. I though I had told you that I was taken at the battle of Shiloh. George Baker was not able to get in to see me. Yes, I heard of the destruction of Bayou Sara and St Francisville and it will be the ruin of Mr Joor⁸⁶ but this morning I hear that the Feds are shelling Vicksburg, and from that I judge that they have evacuated New Orleans. The picture of Clifford I think resembles, Aunt Sophia's Charley, when he was a baby—but he is prettier than Charley was—in fact I think he is one of the prettiest cousins that I have.

I hope that before long this bloody war will come to an end. as soon as I get south I am [not]⁸⁷ going to join the army again. I hope better luck will be my part next time. at any rate my love for my Grandparents will always be the same, if we do gain our independence. Well I must close as we leave now in an hour so good bye and may God bless and protect you is the sincere prayer of your most affectionate nephew

W M BARROW

⁸⁶ Husband of Aunt Sophia.

⁸⁷ This word was evidently inserted by the prison censor, thus reversing the meaning of Willie's statement.

APPENDIX I

List of Mess Articles

4 big tin pails	1 coffee Mill
2 small tin pails	2 tin pans
1 boiler	1 salt Seller
3 tin cups	

APPENDIX II

Account for February 1862

1st Trip down river.....	\$3.00	Feb 2nd Sundries	1.50
" " Clothes & shoes clean	0.25	" " Pies	0.20
" " Southern Monthly...	0.25	" 3rd Lent key.....	0.05
" " Drinks & Segar.....	0.50	" " pens	0.05
" " Mending box.....	0.50	" " postage	0.05
Feb 2nd Coffee & papers	0.15	" " Tobacco	0.10
" " Orange & shoes		" " Oranges	0.10
blackened	0.15	Sewell Key	1.00
" " Freight on box.	1.20	Sutter	10.00
" " Trip on cars...	2.00		
" " Paid man for			
box	0.25		

APPENDIX III

Mess account for March

Mar 5th Butter	0.60	Mar 8th Eggs	2.15
" " Bread	0.20	" " Chickens	1.45
" 6th Eggs	1.15	" 11th 3 lbs butter ..	.90



RECOLLECTIONS OF A LITTLE REBEL

By H. H. WHITE

Alexandria, La.

IT IS HARD to realize what a shadow the receding war clouds I threw over the lives of Southern boys and girls of the late sixties. Some account of the experiences and feelings under which we grew up may not be without interest to the youth of today. We were yet to go through the period of reconstruction, worse than that of the war; but finally we were to break the prison of the dead past and to come into the glorious sunlight of freedom and devotion to our reunited country.

If the tale is worth telling I would like to recount some of my recollections of that far receding day with a view of helping the children of the North and of the South "to know each other better and to love each other more."

My childhood was spent in the old town of Opelousas, in the Attakapas prairies of Southwest Louisiana, beautifully described by Longfellow, though he had never seen them, in "Evangeline." George W. Cable's "Carencro" was but a few miles distant, and the Catholic monastery and convent of "Grand Couteau" was close by. The population was largely Acadian French, though English speaking people were numerous in the towns and villages and had already begun to import what the "Cajuns" called "those *dam* American fuss".

Those same "Cajuns" were, ignorant, honest and brave. They owned few negroes and did not know what the war was about, but they followed their generals Beauregard and Mouton, and no soldiers in Stonewall Jackson's "foot cavalry" were harder marchers or better fighters than "Dick" Taylor's Louisiana brigade largely recruited from among that people. It is related that on one occasion two of them were talking about the war. General Robert E. Lee was mentioned, when one of them said: "General Lee he one yer fine man. I hear General Beauregard spik well of him, yas."

I was born under the Stars and Bars of the Confederacy. My father had at the age of eighteen volunteered as a private

in the 1st Regiment of Tennessee Volunteers, and had served under General Zachary Taylor, old "Rough and Ready," in Mexico.

Returning from the Mexican War, he entered the ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and became one of its first preachers in South West Louisiana, where he labored as pastor and teacher until the outbreak of the Civil War. My mother was a native of North Alabama, of Virginia stock, and her brother as well as my uncles on my father's side became soldiers in the Confederate Army.

My father was opposed to and voted against secession, but when Louisiana withdrew from the Union, he became, due perhaps to his experience in the Mexican War, a Captain in heavy artillery, C. S. A. His command was engaged in the defense of New Orleans, Port Hudson, Grand Gulf and Vicksburg, where it was captured at the surrender of that city.

Perhaps a few wartime stories, which were told to me in childhood, may not be without interest.

Father's command was stationed in a small fortification at the English Turn, on the Mississippi River, a few miles below New Orleans. When the Federal fleet had passed Forts Jackson and Saint Philip, and was approaching New Orleans, one of the Confederate Generals accompanied by his staff, dashed down to father's battery and ordered him to "open on the enemy as soon as they are in range".

The order was obeyed with the result that the battery fired one round. The fleet, which father said presented the grandest spectacle which he ever saw, slowed down, the guns of several large vessels were brought to bear on the devoted battery, one broadside was fired, and the fortification was levelled, the guns knocked to pieces, and the levee destroyed, although strange to say nobody was hurt.

Father ordered his men to lie down in the ditch, half full of water, at the base of the levee, a paling fence being just behind the ditch. The battery having been destroyed, the gunboats played on the spot where it had been for some time with grape and cannister. The grape shot made an awful racket as they struck the palings behind the ditch and split them to pieces.

At this juncture an Irishman, private in the Company, raised his head and said: "Captain don't you think its time to retreat?" The answer was: "Get your head down you fool unless

you want to get it shot off." This dialogue was repeated several times, until a safe opportunity did offer to retreat which was gladly taken advantage of. Father had just been equipped with the fine gold braided uniform of a Confederate Artillery Captain, and often said that on that occasion he ruined with muddy ditch water the finest suit of clothes he ever had.

Another of father's stories was that during the siege of Vicksburg, when the federal shelling was unusually heavy at night, and the path of the shells could be seen in the darkness, whenever a shell was apparently coming straight to the place where he was, his body servant—a yellow negro named George—would always jump behind him. On one of these occasions father asked George why he did that; George answered: "Mas Frank, none them shells ain't gwine hit me lessen they comes through you, and I know none of 'em ain't gwine hit you". Great indeed was his faith.

After the war and while father was still disfranchised, he was anxious to get a certain bill passed by the "black and tan" legislature of Louisiana for the relief of one of our colleges. Going to the Legislature he met George, in resplendent raiment, a member of that distinguished body. George said: "Mas Frank, if you wants anything, just ax me". Father asked, and George helped pass the bill.

My only personal recollection of the federal soldiers dates from sometime after the war closed, for I was born in 1864. It is this:

There was a camp in which some companies of soldiers were still in garrison, located about half way between our house, and our church, about a mile distant. One Sunday morning, I was dressed in my best, which consisted of "Attakapas Cottonmade", and started alone to Sunday School. I had to go by that camp. A ditch paralleled it all the way, and such was my fear of the "Yankees" that I got down on all fours and crawled half the way, and then got up and ran the balance of the way. Such was the feeling of a little four year old Rebel at the time. As a matter of fact, the soldiers were very friendly and were a great protection to the citizens, but I did not know that.

As further representing my youthful sentiments, I recall a bitter quarrel which I had one day with my old negro mammy, "Aunt Hester." I boasted that my father had during the war cer-

tainly killed with his cannon "a thousand Yankees". Said Aunt Hester: "Shucks chile, you pa ain't never kill no Yankees atall". The quarell raged until father came in, who, much to my disappointment, almost confirmed aunt Hester's statement and added that he hoped he had not killed or been instumental in killing any, although he had done his best in that direction on several occasions.

An amusing and nearly tragic incident which I recall is this:

An older cousin—Cousin Willie—and I used to play "Rebel" and "Yankee". He being the elder nearly always made me be "Yankee"—this had the disadvantage of being against my sentiments, but had the almost compensating advantage of entitling me to be victorious in battle. On one occasion we were playing "Fort Sumpter". Fort Sumpter was a carpenter's work bench, on which Cousin Willie stood as Confederate garrison valiantly waving a flag, while I, representing the union force, was engaged in a violent assault upon the fort. My artillery consisted of brick-bats and an unfortunate one with a sharp jagged edge struck Cousin Willie on the top of the head, cutting the scalp open with great loss of blood. No very serious damage was done, but the seige of fort Sumpter ended for that occasion.

One of the occupations of Southern boys then was, and in some places still is, to break down dry cotton stalks after frost had fallen on them. This work is prosaic, tedious and hard. The labor, however, was greatly lightened when we were given clubs, and told to play that the cotton stalks were "Yankees". Killing "Yankees" made the work seem very pleasant, and we boys killed them with much greater pleasure, speed and safety than our fathers had done in the awful war which had just closed.

My thorough conversion to the Union came in 1898, while I was a member of the Louisiana Constitutional Convention of that year. One morning I picked up the newspaper and read that the Maine had been blown up in the harbor of Havana. Soon I learned that Generals Fitzhugh Lee and Joe Wheeler had been commissioned as Generals in the United States Army and placed in command of United States troops. I then realized fully that the Stars and Stripes was my flag, and that the Stars and Bars was only a flag of memory. I offered to enlist in one

of the regiments which was forming, but fortunately for me, I suppose, the war with Spain was ended before the regiment was needed.

My complete devotion to the flag of our great country came when my sons volunteered for the Great War. One day soon after they had enlisted, I came home and found my two old aunts, each well past three score years and ten, knitting socks for the soldiers, tears running down their faces. The eldest said: "Well I never expected to knit socks for soldiers any more. We knit lots of them for our boys who went to the Confederate War, and we saw our best and our bravest go and mighty few of them ever came back; but the girls now don't know how to turn the heels, and we old women have to show them."

The strains of "Bonny Blue Flag" are hushed. "Dixie" has become one of the anthems of the nation, for Abraham Lincoln said "let the bands play Dixie. When we captured their armies we captured their music too".

And so the "Little Rebel" became a citizen of the Republic. May it be "one and indivisible, now and forever".



RAPIDES PARISH, LOUISIANA—A HISTORY

By G. P. WHITTINGTON

NINTH INSTALLMENT

(Continued from July, 1934, Quarterly)

CHAPTER XIV*

SECESSION, 1860-1861.

As soon as there was no doubt of Lincoln's election, Governor Moore on November 19th 1860, issued a call for a special session of the General Assembly to meet at the State capital in Baton Rouge on the 12th day of December. The message of the Governor told the legislators what they already knew, that Lincoln had been elected president of the United States, and that his election meant the downfall of slavery. He told them, that in his opinion, Louisiana could no longer remain in the Union with honor to itself. "I do not," the message said "think it comports with the honor and self respect of Louisiana as a slaveholding state, to live under the government of the Black Republican President."¹ He thought that the other southern states should be consulted as to final action, but should the legislature decide to refer the matter to the people, he was of the opinion that a Convention should be ordered. He also suggested that the militia should be reorganized, a Board of Military Affairs created and a half million dollars expended by the Board in the purchase of modern arms and military equipment. The legislature followed his bidding and a Convention was called, to meet on January 23rd 1861, to be composed of as many members as there were members of the House of Representatives and Senate of the State.

An election was immediately called for the election of delegates. Rapides was entitled to four delegates, and the campaign for their election began as soon as it was known that the Con-

* Due to a typographical error, Chapter XIII, page 547, July, 1934, Quarterly, Vol. 17, was printed as Chapter XIV, and we take this opportunity of calling the reader's attention to the fact that the error was a numerical one, and not the omission of any manuscript.—Ed. La. Hist. Qy.

¹ Moore's message.

vention had been ordered. John K. Elgee,² a member of the Rapides bar was agreed upon as the candidate to represent the senatorial district, but for the members to represent the members of the House of Representatives there was two distinct sets of candidates, with distinct views upon what should be done.

Moore was for secession and so were the candidates he supported, to wit: Manning, Texada and Smart.

On December 26, 1860, a Union Mass Meeting was held in Alexandria, with Colonel W. B. Lewis as chairman. Three candidates were selected for delegates to the convention. A series of resolutions were adopted that best convey the ideas of the opposition to Moore and his followers:

"The citizens of the parish of Rapides assembled in general convention, for the purpose of selecting candidates to represent them in the approaching State Convention, adopt the following preamble and resolutions expressive of their views upon the momentous question now agitating the people of the United States.

Whereas, the people of the Northern States through persistent and long continued agitation of the slavery question in various forms and under various pretexts, have reached the inevitable result of such agitation in the formation of a purely sectional party and the election of the candidate of that party to the Presidency of the United States upon a platform of principles hostile to the peace, prosperity and dearest interests of the south, and which if carried out in practice would reduce the southern states from the position as equals in the Confederacy to the condition of subjects and conquered provinces of a dominant section.

And, whereas, it is the stern determination of the Southern people not to submit their destinies into the hands of a hostile Government, in the formation of which they were not consulted and have had no voice.

Therefore Resolved. 1. That we view the government of the United States, as established by the Fathers of the Republic with the adoption of the Federal Constitution of 1787 as the sublimest enactment of human wisdom recorded in history as evidenced in the unparalleled prosperity of the State, both north and south, during the period of three quarters of a century—raising them from

² John K. Elgee was one of the strongest advocates for Secession and was one of the Committee that drafted the ordinance. In 1864 he abandoned the Southern cause and took the oath of allegiance to the United States. He left Alexandria with the Union Army. This did not save his home and office from destruction by that Army.

the condition of feeble provinces to a powerful nation of confederated states, alike the refuge of the oppressed and the terror of the oppressor.

Resolved 2. That the people of the North in electing a sectional candidate to the Presidency and in denying the South the equal right in the common Territories, in nullifying laws of Congress passed in obedience to the mandates of the Constitution, and in various other acts of aggression evincing a settled and determined purpose to pervert our present beneficent form of government from its original purpose into an engine of oppression and plunder, have deliberately placed themselves in a hostile attitude towards the south, and this relation between the two sections can never be changed unless the North shall secede from its present position and consent to such an adjustment of the pending difficulties as will place the institution of the slave permanently beyond the reach of sectional aggression.

Resolved 3. That we recognize the right of Secession in its broadest sense, and we shall regard an attempt on the part of the Federal Government to coerce a seceding State as a dangerous and tyrannical abuse of power—dangerous alike to nonseceding as well as the seceding states, and should be resisted by the Southern States to the last extremity.

Resolved 4. Though recognizing the right of single States to secede—yet we do not regard that mode of resistance as affording an adequate remedy for existing evils—but rather as a move to escape from impending troubles rendered easy to us from our geographical position but impossible to be resorted to by our less favored sister states of the border.

Resolved 5. That in a conference of all the southern states we recognize the safest and most effective method of dealing with the great question now before us. The Southern States entering the convention agreeing to be governed by the united wisdom of the whole, whether their determination shall be to form a New Confederacy of Southern States, or to remain in the present Union upon conditions that the North shall agree to such a settlement of the pending controversy as the Southern Convention may propose.

Resolved 6. That whilst we would recommend to the favorable consideration of our representative in the State Convention the line of policy indicated in the foregoing resolutions, yet we do not desire to hamper them with instructions, but leave them free to adopt such measures as their wisdom, and patriotism may suggest, and the pressing logic of events may render necessary."³

The convention selected as its candidates, John K. Elgee, Leroy A. Stafford, William W. Whittington and Josiah Chambers.

Manning and Texada were going around the country preaching the doctrine of withdrawing from the Union. That it could be done peacefully and without the shedding of blood.

Before the election was held militia companies were being organized and drilled, notably the Fulton Guard that met and elected officers on December 8th, another that was formed on Bayou Rapides near the same date, and others in the western part of the parish.

The three candidates offered by the Union Mass Meeting were of the conservative type, all were planters and owners of plantations and slaves, believers in states rights and slavery but not of the fire eating type.

Chambers was a native of Rapides. His family had long lived near Cheneyville. He subsequently served in the Confederate Army as a lieutenant of cavalry. He had also served in the Mexican War. After the war he returned to his home in this parish and became a successful planter under the new regime.

Leroy A. Stafford was also a native of Rapides, born near the present town of Cheneyville. His father had moved to Louisiana from South Carolina. He was educated in private schools at home and out of the state. In 1846 he was elected sheriff of the parish and was said to have been one of the youngest ever to have been elected to this position. During his term of office he obtained a leave of absence from the State of Louisiana, by special act of the legislature, left his office in charge of a brother and enlisted as a private soldier in the War with Mexico. After the war he returned home and served out the remainder of his term and then returned to his plantation home near Cheneyville which now numbered more than 1000 acres. When it became certain that war was necessary and could not be avoided he organized a Company at Cheneyville known as the Stafford Guards and tendered his services to his State. This company was sent to New Orleans and there with others was organized into the Ninth Louisiana Infantry and sent to become a part of the Army of Northern Virginia. There Stafford served under "Stonewall" Jackson and his regiment was part of the famous foot cavalry.

* Constitutional 1860.

Later he served under General Lee. In time Stafford was raised to the rank of Brigadier General and finally gave up his life at the battle of the Wilderness in May, 1864.

William W. Whittington, was a native of Maryland, but had resided in Rapides since 1833. In politics he was a Democrat and had served as a member of the House of Representatives and had been a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1852. He was one of the members of the first board of Supervisors of the Louisiana Seminary and had served with General Graham on the committee that supervised the erection of the buildings and the selection of the first superintendent (Colonel William T. Sherman). His plantation on Bayou Rapides adjoined that of General Graham. There during the war he remained devoting his time to raising food stuff for the army.

There was not much excitement in the canvass. The only question seemed to be whether the state would confer with the other southern states or simply declare its own independence.

One of the papers *The Constitutional* made this statement in jest, but before peace was to become a fact, many were to give it serious consideration. "*If Louisiana secedes from the Union on account of the encroachment of the Federal Government, we shall be compelled to advocate the secession of the parish of Rapides from the State, as our rights have been encroached upon in a great many instances by the authorities of the state. We have a large territory and a numerous population and are perfectly able to take care of ourselves.*"

The election resulted in the selection of Elgee, Manning, Texada and Smart delegates to represent this parish in the Convention.

Before the convention met, and before the will of the people was known, for all of the delegates were not committed to an immediate withdrawal from the Union, Governor Moore took possession of the forts below the city of New Orleans and the arsenals at Baton Rouge, thus committing the state to his policy of secession and leaving the convention nothing to do but ratify his acts by passing the necessary resolutions.

The Convention met on January 23rd, 1861, with Governor Moore and his followers in full control of the situation. The formality of organizing the Convention was passed through and the necessary committees appointed and then the resolution was adopted and the state declared free and independent.

It was but a step from the Resolution of secession to the entrance of Louisiana into the Southern Confederacy.

Moore was of the opinion that Louisiana would be a power in this new organization and that her officials would be looked upon with much respect and would be greatly honored by the new organization. That due to the geographic location of the state with the great City of New Orleans, the largest city in the south and its principal seaport, it would be protected and cared for, but in all of this he was in time to be disappointed and to discover to his sorrow his great mistake.

CHAPTER XV.

THE PEOPLE PREPARE FOR WAR AND FEEL ITS PINCH

Mass meetings were called for the formation of Military organizations throughout the parish, and the people prepared for the fight. Some were afraid that the war would be over before they could reach the front. Local companies were organized in each locality for the protection of the parish. One of the first of these companies was formed at Alexandria and known as the Fulton Guards, named for Colonel Samuel Fulton, the man who called the meeting for its organization.

Another was formed on Bayou Rapides and known as the Rapides Minute men, then others at Cheneyville, in the west of the parish and so on until there was enough companies to make up a battalion with a major and other officers.

All of these meetings passed resolutions that read similiar to this which was passed by the Rapides Minute Men:

"We are in the midst of a revolution, and there is no honorable retreat from a firm assertion of our rights, and as self preservation is the first law of nature, we have met together to adopt measures of mutual protection."

It was but a short time until these home guard units were made up of the old men and boys outside the age limits fixed by the State and new Nation for the members of the Army.

President Davis issued his call for troops to serve in the Confederate Army and in turn Governor Moore called upon the various parishes for their quota. The number of companies required of Rapides was three. More men offered than could be

armed and equipped. The first Company to leave Alexandria was known as the Moore Guards, with John Kelso as Captain, Mike Grogan as 1st Lieutenant, and William S. Ridge as 2nd Lieutenant. Grogan was destined in time to serve as Captain, Major and Lieutenant-Colonel. This company left Alexandria on the steamboat "Rapides" on the 25th of April, 1861, going to New Orleans and thence to Virginia as one of the Companies of the Ninth Louisiana Infantry.

The next company was known as the "Rapides Invincibles" with Captain Lee Crandell, then the Cheneyville Rifles and Stafford Guards all of whom were sent to become a part of the great Army of Northern Virginia and to win fame under the leadership of Jackson and Lee.

Then later came the companies that were to form a part of the Army of Tennessee, with the names of Westbrook Guards, Red River Rebels, Rapides Rangers, Rapides Tigers, Pinewood Sharp Shooters, Annacoco Rangers and Alexandria Rifles. Then followed the companies that saw service west of the Mississippi river and known as McWater's Rangers, Rapides Terribles and Benjamin's Cavalry.

The Louisiana Democrat said in the issue of November 19th, 1862:

"Rapides furnished to the Confederacy twelve companies of infantry and two of cavalry; two hundred and fifty men to fill up the gaps made by disease and death; over five hundred conscripts under the first call. She uniformed every company, provided the cavalry with horses, gave to each company a company fund of thirty six hundred dollars and has spent besides over sixty thousand dollars in benefactions to the families of the absent soldiers."

She was destined to send more men and more money, until the same paper could say in 1863: "*The conscript act means nothing to Rapides, because all of the men between 18 and 45 have answered the call of their state, or are engaged in raising supplies for the army.*"

This was not literally true, for there were men in the parish who never served in either army, there were others who stayed out of the Southern Army until they could see the way the tide was going and then became good Union Men, entered the Union Army and succeeded in drawing pensions for their services.

Some of these men who stayed out of the Confederate army were honestly opposed to withdrawing from the Union and fighting against the old flag, but most of them were of the class known as "Jay-Hawkers" who hid out and preyed upon the women and children of those men who were absent from home, serving their state.

The Jay-Hawkers were not made up entirely of men who had refused to join the Confederate Army, but there was to be found in their midst a number of deserters, men who had been drafted into the service and at the first opportunity deserted and returned to their old haunts. To many of these men it was in the language of J. Madison Wells, a "rich man's war and a poor man's fight." One of the famous leaders of these men was a Colonel Dudley, as he was later known. He and his followers were thorns in the sides of the men in the army, in that they depredated upon the women and children who were left at home unprotected. All manner of outrage was committed. Houses and barns were burned, live stock killed or stolen, and in some cases even assignation was laid to their door. After Banks' Raid up Red River, Dudley left the western part of the parish and moved to New Orleans where he was rewarded first with a commission in the Union Army and later with a political appointment carrying a nice salary. Dudley did not return to his former home until after the war, and then he came with a detail of soldiers as a body-guard.

Paul's Rangers, with David C. Paul as their captain was organized to hunt down these people and hold them in subjection. Deserters were returned to their commands or tried by court-martial and in many cases shot. Jay-hawkers were killed where ever found without trial and without consideration. This command was feared by all violators of the law, and they were the real protecting arm of the State government in this thinly settled and outlying section of the parish. Captain Paul, in later years was one of the most popular officials of the parish, serving for some time as sheriff.

With the creation of a State Army, James A. McWaters organized a company of Rangers. This company never left the state but was used in the defense of the part of the state within the Confederate lines. It formed a part of a regiment of cavalry, and McWaters became the Lieutenant Colonel of this command.

McWaters was born in the parish of Rapides. His maternal grand father was Alexander Fulton. He was educated in Missouri and was admitted to the bar. During the Mexican War he served as a private in the company raised in this section. When he returned home he gave up his profession and devoted his attention to planting making a decided success at raising sugar. A few years prior to the war he sold his plantation and slaves. He established a reputation of being an aggressive and daring soldier every ready to protect his men to the last extreme. To the enemy he was an imp of the devil and they feared to fall into his hands. In December, 1862, he was called home to the bed side of his wife who died leaving him with several infant children to care for and protect, but he had scarcely returned to his command when he was wounded and died on the following day. Old men who served in McWaters' command never ceased to sing his praise and to tell you of the wonderful soldier, man and friend he had been to them.

Agriculture flourished in 1861. Crops yielded more than usual. Rains seemed to come at the proper time and the harvest was bountiful. In June of that year a tornado swept through the alluvial lands damaging the gins and sugar mills but not beyond repair. The greatest loss was in the town of Alexandria where the building of the old Rapides Academy was wrecked, as was the market house, the roof of the hotel blown off and the Court House badly damaged. On the north side of the river, the building formerly used to house Parker's Institute and which had recently been converted into a clothing factory, with the necessary machinery to manufacture all kinds of men's clothing was wrecked, fire followed and everything was a total loss.

Central Louisiana was suffering from the loss of the pick of her manhood who had answered the call of the state and help defend the southland. There was scarcely a family that had not lost a member of its household, or had them return wounded and maimed for life. Necessaries of life that could not be raised or made at home had advanced to unheard of prices or could not be obtained at all. The crops that had been gathered could not be marketed as before. But it had not felt the heel of the invader.

The State established a supply depot at Alexandria, where all kinds of materials were gathered and stored for the use of the army. Surplus guns were brought to this point to be repaired and reconditioned so as to be of use to the men in the field. Cloth

for uniforms, clothing and blankets for the soldier had been gathered into this warehouse. General Hindman was in command of Arkansas and North Louisiana. They needed supplies, and they were to be found at Alexandria, but the State would not part with them, so a boat was armed and sent from Shreveport under the command of a Captain Taylor, and as there were no soldiers to protect these goods, Taylor confiscated such as he thought they needed. This incident brought forth a heated letter from Governor Moore, and was sent to the War Department at Richmond. The threats of the Governor were of such a nature that nothing similar seems to have happened at any subsequent time.

After the war there was not a single bell to be found on any of the plantations in the parish. An appeal had been made to the people for the donation of bells to be used in making cannon. The response to this appeal was unanimous. The bells were shipped to New Orleans, but before they could be used the city fell, and these bells were sent to New York by General Butler as captured property and sold at public auction.

A packing house was erected where beef and pork was packed and sent to the army in Virginia and Tennessee. The animals were brought on hoof from southwest Louisiana and Texas to be slaughtered and pickled. The first winter, for it was only during the winter that this work could be done, there were more than thirty thousand beeves killed and pickled at this plant. When the Mississippi river was closed by the gunboats of the United States, this meat could no longer be sent to the army in the field and the work was abandoned. The plant was destroyed in 1863 when the first raid up the Red River was made by General Banks.

Before the capture of New Orleans by the Union forces a regular commerce was carried on between Alexandria and that point, some boats making as many as two trips a week. All came loaded with supplies that were to find their way into northern and western Louisiana and some even into South Arkansas and East Texas. On their return trips they carried, troops, cotton, cattle and all manner of produce. There was a regular train of wagons going to and from the boat landings. Hogs, cattle and even poultry was driven over land to be shipped to market.

Even after the fall of New Orleans some of this trade went on, some under the guise of helping the families of the soldiers who had entered the Confederate service from New Orleans,

others to obtain needed supplies of things that could not be raised at home. The restrictions on the coming and going of people were very loose and when Banks made his trip up Red River many familiar faces were found among his officers and men, some had been soldiers of the south on leave from their commands, others had been foreign travelers seeing the country.

Much cotton was sent out of this section without the permission of the Confederate officials. It seems that it was not difficult to get it by the careless guards and the inducement to make the attempt was the handsome price to be obtained in New Orleans. Some times the sale was made directly to the dealer at the point of production and they used their own methods of getting the cotton to market. All cotton that was supposed to have been destroyed by the Confederate authorities to keep it from falling into the hands of the enemy, did not go up in smoke, part was sold to the dealers who accompanied the army, and still more was sent through Texas to Mexico. Even some of the officials of the Confederate Government for the purchase of cotton were guilty of this class of dealing and McKee, the head of the department, was charged with treason, released on an order of one of the courts and succeeded in escaping within the Union lines and thus avoiding trial.

People who had been accustomed to the better things of life had now reached a point where it was hard to get anything but the things that could be raised at home. Coffee and tea could no longer be obtained and substitutes were resorted to. The greatest loss to the general public was the inability to obtain medicines.

North and Central Louisiana had given of its manpower and supplies until it was exhausted. Virginia and Tennessee were the only points that seemed to interest the Richmond authorities. To them the Trans-Mississippi Department was a field from which to draw men and more men, horses, mules and supplies of all kind and still be able to protect itself against any threatened invasion.

North Louisiana was attached to Arkansas, Eastern Louisiana to Mississippi, and Western Louisiana to Texas, the center of the state was a no-man's land and could look out for itself. Appeals were continually made for arms and ammunition to be used by the home guards or local companies recruited to protect the state, and for the services of a General who could direct the

military affairs. The records are full of the letters making these appeals and of complaints that the military supplies purchased with the funds of Louisiana were being confiscated by officers and officials of other sections.

In response to the numerous appeals of Louisiana and Texas the War Department in the summer of 1862 assigned Major General Richard (Dick) Taylor to the command of the troops of the state, and in September of that year he established his headquarters in Alexandria, where they remained off and on until the end of the War, that is the headquarters remained at Alexandria for General Taylor left Louisiana in the summer of 1864. While a General was sent he was not given the necessary arms and equipment to place in the field an army to cope with the situation.

New Orleans, Baton Rouge, the Teche country and all of South Louisiana was in the hands of the Union forces, and so was the strip along the Mississippi river. Red river and most of the country north of the Atchafalaya was dominated by the Confederates. The State capital had been moved from Baton Rouge to Opelousas, and a little later to Shreveport as the Union forces advanced up the Red River valley. The Adjutant General's Office and its various branches were in Alexandria at the same time.

On March 7th, 1863, General E. Kirby Smith, issued General Order No. 1, as follows:

Headquarters Trans-Mississippi,
March 7th 1863.

- I. In conformity with instructions from the War Department at Richmond, Va. dated February 9th 1863, the undersigned hereby assumes command of the Confederate forces West of the Mississippi.
- II. Until further orders the Department Headquarters are established at Alexandria, La.

E. KIRBY SMITH,
Lieut. General Commanding.

He paid Rapides a short visit, announced the names of his staff and then journeyed on to Arkansas and North Louisiana and finally into East Texas where he remained for the rest of the war. His staff stayed at Alexandria until news reached them that the Federal Army was marching up the Bayou Boeuf road and then they too moved on to Shreveport where headquarters were established.

In 1863, the effects of the war began to be felt in the parish, in other ways than the giving of her men. Food prices had advanced until it was almost impossible for the poor to obtain the necessities of life. Beef had advanced to thirty cents a pound, potatoes to 2 and three dollars per bushel, meal, the staff of life for bread, for flour, was not to be obtained had advanced to a dollar and a half to two dollars per peck, pork and poultry were priced at figures never heard of before. These prices were said to be from five times to ten times the prices that had formerly prevailed. Sugar was reported scarce, coffee and tea impossible to obtain and the only medicine was such as could be smuggled through the lines or was brought in from the Texas coast and Mexico. Clothing for the family and the slaves was made at home by the women. Cotton and wool was woven into cloth. Buttons were made of wood and horn and steel needles were greatly prized. Of course the sewing was done by hand.

The men were not the only ones who served. At the beginning of the war, volunteer aid societies were formed in each little community of the parish, with headquarters in Alexandria. These bands were formed upon the appeal of the governor. There was a central meeting place in each community, where the women gathered and made garments for the soldiers that were leaving for the front.

When a company was mustered into the service of the state each man was supplied with a uniform and what was deemed a sufficient supply of underclothes and other needed articles, but it was only a short time after his leaving home before it became necessary to supply other garments. It was originally the idea of the Governor that there should be central supply depot in each parish to handle these supplies, but this was not a success for each community had a company of soldiers of its own and these they insisted should have the garments made at home.

Then came the battles and the wounded and sick had to be supplied with bandages and dressings that the government was unable to furnish, and this became another duty. Homes were stripped of linens and fine cottons, pantries were made bare of jellies and sweets, so that the sick and wounded might be served. The spinning wheel and loom were brought into use and the mistress and slave worked for the same end.

Crops were planted and gathered by the slaves left at home on the plantation and small farm alike. In many cases the manager was the wife, sister or mother of the soldier at the front. In the majority of the cases the negro remained faithful to the people he knew as his master and mistress until the coming of the enemy, some remained until the end.

A little later the wife and children of the less fortunate soldier had to be assisted, and this work the women of the parish took into their hands, since they could not help their men in the army away from home.

The parish and town were compelled to issue money in small denominations to enable the merchants to make change. The Confederate currency that had reached this section was only of the larger denominations and there was no way to reduce it to smaller units. Some of the merchants had devised a scheme of issuing cards for the difference between the bill and the money tendered, but this required the purchaser to return to that store for other merchandise and this was working a hardship upon the people of small means. This issue by the parish and town was supposed to be based upon currency of the Confederacy on deposit in the treasury of each. The largest bill issued by these agencies was ten dollars and the smallest ten cents.

The State Seminary on the north side of Red River continued in operation in a small way until the first Federal raid up to this country, then it was disbanded and the buildings converted into a hospital known as the Taylor Hospital. During the second raid, or invasion it was occupied by part of the Union Army and was pillaged and partly destroyed by fire.

A number of paroled soldiers whose homes were within the Union lines lived in the woods near the school until they were exchanged. Some of these men had been captured at Vicksburg and paroled. They erected huts in the woods and lived as best they could until they were exchanged and permitted to return to their commands.

To control the slaves regular patrols were organized throughout the parish under the command of men too old to serve in the army or detailed to raise crops, and to each was assigned a particular beat to patrol and police.

A BIO-BIBLIOGRAPHY OF GRACE ELIZABETH KING

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A BIO-BIBLIOGRAPHY OF GRACE ELIZABETH KING

Compiled by
BESS VAUGHAN

INTRODUCTION

WHEN this bibliography was begun, it was the hope and aim of the compiler to make it as complete as possible. Time and circumstances, however, have not allowed for the minute research which would be necessary to accomplish this purpose.

The bibliography of Miss King's works is thought to be complete except for two articles, namely: (1) The French Lady in Louisiana, listed in Mr. William Beer's bibliography of Miss King's writings and attributed by him to Harper's Weekly. Search of that periodical, however, of Harper's Bazar, and of other magazines has not brought it to light. (2) The introduction written by Grace King for Mr. G. William Nott's biography of Charles Gayarré has not been included because the book is not yet published (February, 1933).

Likewise, all newspaper articles and certain of Miss King's stories, said to have been translated into French, German and Russian, have been omitted for lack of time and facilities for proper research.

For the bibliography of works about Grace King, completeness cannot be claimed but it is as inclusive as the compiler was able to make it with the sources at hand.

Acknowledgments and thanks are due many persons for their kind and generous assistance in the compilation of this bibliography, namely: Misses Annie and Nina King, New Orleans, La.; Mr. Robert J. Usher, Librarian, and Miss Marguerite D. Renshaw, Reference Librarian, Howard Memorial Library, New Orleans, La.; Mr. Henry P. Dart, Editor, Louisiana Historical Quarterly, New Orleans, La.; Mr. G. William Nott, Soule College, New Orleans, La.; Professor Richard R. Kirk, Department of English, Tulane University, New Orleans, La.; Miss Essae M. Culver, Executive Secretary, and Miss Debora Abramson, Assistant Secretary of the Louisiana Library Commission, Baton Rouge, La.;

Mr. Helmer L. Webb, Librarian, Tulane University Library, New Orleans, La.; Mr. A. J. Blanton, Macmillan Company, New York City; Mrs. Corrinne Spencer, Columbia University Library, New York City; and many members of the staffs of the Reference Departments of the New York Public Library, New York City, and the Boston Public Library, Boston, Mass. But most of all thanks and appreciation are due Miss Lucy E. Fay, School of Library Service, Columbia University, New York City, who was the inspiration of this compilation.

BESS VAUGHAN.

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Short stories depicting the life and local atmosphere of Creole Louisiana. The book includes the following stories:
The balcony; a drama of three; La grande demoiselle;

Mimi's marriage; The miracle chapel; The story of a day; Anne Marie and Jeane Marie; A crippled hope; "One of us"; The little convent girl; Grandmother's grandmother; The old lady's restoration; A delicate affair; Pupasse.

A. Other editions:

Balcony stories. New Orleans, Graham, 1914. 245 p.

Balcony stories; new ed. N. Y., Macmillan, 1925 296 p.

Two new stories have been added: Grandmama, and Joe.

B. Published elsewhere:

Anne Marie and Jeanne Marie. (In *Century*, v. 46, p. 372-374, July, 1893)

The balcony. (In *Century*, v. 45, p. 279-80, December, 1892)

A crippled hope. (In *Century*, v. 46, p. 374-79, July, 1893)

A delicate affair. (In *Century*, v. 46, p. 884-89, October, 1893)

A drama of three. (In *Century*, v. 45, p. 280-82, December, 1892)

La grande demoiselle. (In *Century*, v. 45, p. 323-27, January, 1893)

Grandmama. (In *Century*, v. 68, p. 204-09, June, 1904.)

Grandmother's grandmother. (In *Century*, v. 46, p. 722-24, September, 1893)

The little convent girl. (In *Century*, v. 46, p. 547-51, August, 1893)

Mimi's marriage. (In *Century*, v. 45, p. 493-97, February, 1893)

The miracle chapel. (In *Century*, v. 45, p. 497-99, February, 1893)

The old lady's restoration. (In *Century*, v. 46, p. 724-27, September, 1893)

"One of us." (In *Century*, v. 46, p. 544-46, August, 1893.)

Pupasse. (In *Century*, v. 46, p. 889-94, October, 1893.)

The story of a day. (In *Century*, v. 46, p. 230-35, June, 1893)

C. Excerpts:

A drama of three. (In Gill, H. M., *The South in prose and poetry*. New Orleans, F. F. Hansell [c 1916] p. [145]-53.) Accompanied with brief biographical sketch and portrait.

A drama of three. (In Hibbard, C. A., *Stories of the South, old and new*. University of North Carolina press; Norton, [c 1931] p. [118]-25)

- La grande demoiselle.* (In Orgain, K. A., *Southern authors in poetry and prose.* N. Y. Neale Publishing Co., 1908, p. 129-131)
- La grande demoiselle.* (In Manly, Louise, *Southern literature.* Richmond, Va., Johnson Publishing Co., 1895, p. 437-441)
- La grande demoiselle.* (In *The South in the building of a nation.* Richmond, Va., Southern historical publication society [c1909] v. 12, p. 40-41)
- La grande demoiselle.* (*Mademoiselle Idalie Sainte Foy*) (In Rutherford, M. L., *The South in history and literature.* Athens, Ga. [c1906] p. 590-93)
- The story of a day.* (In *The library of Southern literature.* New Orleans, Martin [c1909] p. 2943-50)
- Creole families of New Orleans*, with illus. by E. Woodward. N. Y., Macmillan, 1921. xiii, 465 p.
Stories of some of the oldest and most outstanding people in New Orleans history—based on genealogical records.
- La dame de Sainte Hermine.* N. Y., Macmillan, 1924. 296 p.
A young French woman of noble birth is exiled from France and sent to America. She is one of the original settlers whom Bienville took over from Mobile to found the city of Nouvelle Orleans. It is there that she eventually forgets her unhappy life in France and finds a new happiness.
- De Soto and his men in the land of Florida*; with illus. by George Gibbs. N. Y., Macmillan, 1898. xv, 326 p.
A rich and colorful story of Hernando De Soto's famous sixteenth century expedition into the Southern part of the United States which was then known as the land of Florida.
- A. Other editions:
DeSoto and his men in the land of Florida; illus. ed. N. Y., Macmillan, 1906.
- B. Excerpts:
Cabeza de Vaca. (In Trent, W. P., *Southern writers.* N. Y., Macmillan, 1905, p. 456-57)
De Soto and Atahualpa. (In Trent, W. P., *Southern writers.* N. Y., Macmillan, 1905, p. 455-56)
- History of Louisiana.* [Baton Rouge, La.] University publishers [c1894]
A history of Louisiana from the discovery of the Mississippi River and its valley, up to the twentieth century.

A. Other editions:

A history of Louisiana; rev. ed. New Orleans, Graham, 1902. 346 p.

A history of Louisiana. N. Y., American Book Co. [date?]

Jean Baptiste Le Moyne, Sieur de Bienville. N. Y., Dodd, 1893. (Makers of America series) vi, 330 p.

A story of the founder, and of the founding of New Orleans—an excellent account of early Louisiana history.

Memories of a Southern woman of letters. N. Y., Macmillan, 1932. 398 p.

Autobiography, written just before Miss King's death in the early part of 1932.

Monsieur Motte. N. Y., Armstrong, 1888. 327 p.

The story of a little Creole girl, Marie Modeste, who was orphaned by the Civil War, and of her ex-slave, Marcelite, who watched over her all the years during which she lived in the St. Denis School in New Orleans. In the end it was Marcelite who brought about the restoration of the family plantation to Marie Modeste.

A. Other editions:

Monsieur Motte. N. Y., Doran [date?] o. p. 1912.

B. Published elsewhere:

Monsieur Motte. (In *The new Princeton review*, v. 1, p. 91-133, January, 1886)

Madame Lareveillere. (In *The new Princeton review*, v. 2, p. [389]-413, November, 1886)

The drama of an evening. (In *The new Princeton review*, v. 4, p. [362]-91, November, 1887)

Marriage of Marie Modeste. (In *The new Princeton review*, v. 5, p. 246-71, March, 1888)

C. Excerpts:

The devotion of Marcelite. (In McCaleb, Thomas. *The Louisiana book*, New Orleans, R. F. Straughan, publisher, 1894. p. [376]-88)

The devotion of Marcelite. (In Stedman, E. C., and Hutchinson, E. M. *A library of American literature*, N. Y., Webster, 1890. v. 11, p. 312-22)

Monsieur Motte. (In Pattee, F. L. *Century readings in the American short story*, N. Y., Century [c1927] p. 316-38)

Mount Vernon on the Potomac; history of the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association of the Union. N. Y., Macmillan, 1929. xiii, 491 p.

The story of the association which was formed to preserve the home and grave of George Washington.

New Orleans, the place and the people. N. Y., Macmillan, 1898. xxi, 404 p.

"A storehouse of information concerning the foundation and growth of the city, it is never for a moment dull and description is again and again enlivened with a wealth of anecdote."

A. Other editions:

New Orleans, the place and the people. N. Y., Macmillan, 1907. (The new travel series.)

New Orleans, the place and the people. N. Y., Macmillan, 1912. (Macmillan's New travel series.) xiv, 402 p.

New Orleans, the place and the people; illus. by Frances E. Jones; new ed. N. Y., Macmillan.

B. Excerpts:

The burial of Gayarré. (In Trent, W. P. Southern writers, N. Y., Macmillan, 1905, p. 453-55)

The carnival. (In The library of Southern literature. New Orleans, Martin [c1909] v. 7, p. 2955-59)

The cemeteries. (In The library of Southern literature. New Orleans, Martin [c1909] v. 7, p. 2959-62)

General Andrew Jackson at New Orleans. (In Major, Mabel. The Southwest in literature, N. Y., Macmillan, 1929. p. 187-94)

The glorious eighth of January. (In Warner, C. D. The library of the world's best literature. N. Y., Peale, 1896-97. v. 21, p. 8573-98)

The Paris of the new world. (In The library of Southern literature. New Orleans, Martin [c1909] v. 7, p. 2951-55)

The pleasant ways of St. Medard. N. Y., Holt, 1916. 338 p.

The story of a New Orleans family's struggle for readjustment to changed fortune and circumstances immediately after the Civil War.

A. Other editions:

The pleasant ways of St. Medard; new ed. N. Y., Macmillan, 1927. 338 p.

Stories from Louisiana history. New Orleans, Graham, 1905. 304 p.

Stories taken from A history of Louisiana, and rewritten for children.

Tales of a time and place. N. Y., Harper, 1892. 303 p.

Short stories of New Orleans which present clear-cut impressions of character and conditions. The stories are: Bayou l'Ombre; Bonne Maman; Madrilene, or, The festival of the dead; The Christmas story of a little church; In the French quarter, 1870.

A. Published elsewhere:

Bayou l'Ombre; an incident of the War. (In Harper's, v. 75, p. 266-83, July, 1887)

Bonne Maman. (In Harper's, v. 73, p. [293]-308, July 1886)

The Christmas story of a little church. (In Harper's, v. 78, p. 94-114, December, 1888)

Madrilene; or, The festival of the dead. (In Harper's, v. 81, p. [869]-86)

The surrender of Paris. (In Art and letters, v. 1, no. 3, p. [85]-97, June, 1887)

Published first under this title but reprinted in Tales of a time and place, as In the French quarter, 1870.

II. *Short Stories and Historical Articles.*

An affair of the heart. (In Harper's, v. 88, p. 796-99, April, 1894)

The story of an unrequited love brought to light through conversation between a girl and her father.

At Cheniere Caminada. (In Harper's v. 88, p. [871]-74, May, 1894)

A little Barataria maiden was sent away to a convent in New Orleans. After many years in the convent, she decided to take the vows of the Church and become a nun. On her last visit to her family, she and her childhood sweetheart were caught and drowned in a storm.

The centenary of the Battle of New Orleans. (In Outlook, v. 109, p. 178-81, January 27, 1915)

An account of the celebration held in New Orleans on the one hundredth anniversary of the Battle of New Orleans.

Charity fair. (In The chap book, v. 1, no. 1, p. [5]-6, [New Orleans] February, 1896)

A short description of a charity fair in New Orleans.

The chevalier Alain de Triton. (In The Chautauquan, v. 13, p. [409]-64, July, 1891)

Pieta, daughter of Chevalier Alain de Triton, reared in a convent and the deeply religious atmosphere of her aunt's household, turns aside from her worship to fall in love with a young "Parisian emigrant, exdandy, and gallant".

Christmas Eve at Holmes in the good old days 'fore the War.
(In *Holmes Store News*, v. 8, no. 7, p. 12, December, 1926)

Unexamined.

The clodhopper. (In *McClure*, v. 28, p. 487-91, March, 1907.)

A short story of negro life on a plantation and of one woman in particular who devoted her life to her worthless son.

Destiny. (In *Harper's*, v. 96, p. [541]-48, March, 1898)

A résumé of a life long friendship that existed between two women.

A domestic interior. (In *Harper's*, v. 90, p. [407]-11, February, 1895)

A picture of a very poor family in New Orleans—there are six children in the family—another is born—the last platter is broken by one of the children—nobody worries except the sister of the young mother.

Earthling. (In *Lippincott's* monthly magazine, v. 42, p. 601-79, November, 1888)

The last of a one-time very wealthy family, a man and his young daughter are forced to live in an attic. Their only friend is a young lawyer who lives in the rooming house and to whom the little girl becomes greatly attached. There is a very tragic scene in which the girl dies just before her father returns from a long trip which ends in the restoration of the family fortunes.

The evening party. (In *Harper's*, v. 89, p. [192]-95, July, 1894)

Mothers attend a party given for their children and sit around in groups discussing fashions, their neighbors' children, and their hostess.

The flitting of Sister. (In *Youth's Companion*, v. 77, p. [305]-306, June 25, 1903)

Brief story about Sister and her younger sisters for whom she had made a living after their parents' deaths.

Fort Louis of Mobile; a commemoration. (In *Outlook*, v. 70, p. 433-36, February 15, 1902)

Some historical data about Fort Louis, the first capitol of Louisiana, brought to mind by the bicentennial celebration of its founding.

The higher life of New Orleans. (In *Outlook*, v. 53, p. 754-60, April 25, 1896)

An article on the educational advantages of New Orleans.

An interlude. (In Harper's, v. 89, p. [918]-20, November 1894)

The story of Tante Liane, a picturesque old woman who read ravenously anything she could get her hands on, and who often rescued books from a box of trash in front of "Levi's."

Lagniappe. (In Chautauquan, v. 12, p. 78-79, October 1890)

A lengthy explanation of the French term "lagniappe" which is something extra—something thrown in for good measure.

The lower Mississippi valley—old Louisiana. (In Country life in America, v. 23, p. 33-7, 66, 68, November, 1912.)

A brief résumé of the early history of the lower Mississippi Valley and the effect the river had on this history.

Making progress. (In Harper's, v. 102, p. 423-30, February 1901)

A mother and sister make unbelievable sacrifices to push the son and brother ahead into a social world beyond their own.

A. Printed elsewhere:

Making progress. (In The library of Southern literature. New Orleans, Martin [c1909] v. 7, p. 2932-42)

New Orleans one hundred years ago. (In Youth's companion, v. 77, p. 15-16, January 8, 1903)

A picture of New Orleans and its gay social life in 1803.

New Orleans "the crescent city." (In Powell, L. P. Historic towns of Southern States. N. Y., Putnam, 1900. p. 411-31)

A summary of the romantic history of old New Orleans.

The old Cabildo of New Orleans. (In Harper's, v. 102, p. [283]-87, January 1901)

An account of the occasion on which the transfer of Louisiana from France to the United States took place in the old Cabildo.

Old New Orleans. (In The Bookman, v. 63, p. 74-8, March 1926)

A contrast of the old New Orleans with the new.

"On the prairie." (In Appleton's Booklover's magazine, v. 7, p. 324-26, March, 1906)

The story of two old negroes, Jerry and Rachel, and the little "Injun" boy that Jerry found one night lying in the middle of the road.

One woman's story. In *Harper's Bazar*, v. 24, p. 218-19, March 21, 1891)

A story revealed by a chance meeting in a cemetery.

The preservation of Louisiana history. (In *North Carolina historical review*, v. 5, p. 363-71, October, 1928)

A history of the archives of Louisiana.

The self-made man: An impression. (In *Harper's Bazar*, p. 258-9, April 5, 1890)

A "self-made man" delights in telling even passing acquaintances of his accomplishments and succeeds only in making himself obnoxious.

Sympathy. (In *Harper's weekly*, v. 32, p. 338, May 12, 1888)

An old man from the "backwoods" brings his twenty year-old son to town for the first time. The boy is arrested and put in jail. The father goes to the Judge for sympathy—and gets it!

The tignon. (In *Chautauquan*, v. 12, p. 656-57, February, 1891)

A short dissertation on the headdress known to Creoles as the tignon—worn mostly by the older generation of negro women.

A war-time Santa Claus. (In *Collier's*, v. 44, p. 12, December 11, 1909)

The story of the home-made doll that made the heart of a little Southern girl very happy on a Christmas day during the Civil War.

III. *Biographical Sketches.*

Alfred de Vigny. (In Warner, C. D. *The library of the world's best literature*. N. Y., Peale, 1896-97. v. 38, p. 15341-43)

Baron Marc de Villiers du Terrage. (In *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, v. 5, no. 3, p. [287]-97, July, 1922)

Charles Baudelaire. (In Warner, C. D., *The library of the world's best literature*. N. Y., Peale, 1896-97. v. 4, p. 1617-23)

Charles Gayarré. (In Gayarré, Chas. *History of Louisiana*. New Orleans, Hansell, 1903. p. [i]-xxxii)

Charles Wagner. (In Wagner, Chas. *The simple life*. N. Y., McClure, 1903. p. viii-xxxvi)

Edouard Rod. (In Warner, C. D. *The library of the world's best literature*. N. Y., Peale, 1896-97. v. 31, p. 12335-41)

- Iberville and the Mississippi. (In Harper's, v. 89, p. 722-32, October, 1894)
- Jules Michelet. (In Warner, C. D. The library of the world's best literature. N. Y., Peale, 1896-'97. v. 25, p. 9982-85)
- Lamennais. (In Warner, C. D. The library of the world's best literature. N. Y., Peale, 1896-97. v. 22, p. 8845-48)
- M. Charles Wagner. (In Harper's Bazar, v. 29, p. 771, September 12, 1896)
- Madame Girard, an old French teacher of New Orleans; reprinted with permission from the Yale Review, January, 1922. [New Haven, 1922] [44p.]
- A. Published elsewhere:
- An old French teacher of New Orleans. (In Yale Review, n. s. v. 11, p. 380-98, January, 1922)
- Madame La Baronne Blaze de Bury. (In Harper's Bazar, v. 26, p. 758, September 16, 1893)
- Madame La Comtesse Tascher de La Pagerie. (In Harper's Bazar, v. 26, p. 807, September 30, 1893)
- Margaret. (In Harper's Bazar, v. 20, p. 709, October 15, 1887)
- Melchior de Vogue. (In Warner, C. D. The library of the world's best literature. N. Y., Peale, 1896-97. v. 38, p. 15439-41)
- Mlle. Blaze de Bury. (In Harper's Bazar, v. 29, p. 730, August 29, 1896)
- Notes on the life and services of Bienville. (In the Louisiana Historical Quarterly, v. 1, no. 3, p. [39]-51, January, 1918)
- Paster Wagner in Paris. (In Outlook, v. 87, p. 198-202, September 28, 1907)
- Paul Desjardins. (In Warner, C. D. The library of the world's best literature. N. Y., Peale, 1896-97. v. 11, p. 4596-99)
- A poet of the old school. (In Harper's Bazar, v. 25, p. 878, October 29, 1892)
- Prosper Mérimée. (In Prosper Mérimée, tr. by G. B. Ives, N. Y., Putnam, 1903. p. ix-xix)
- Prosper Mérimée. (In Warner, C. D. The library of the world's best literature. v. 25, p. 9941-45)
- The real Philip Nolan. (In The Louisiana Historical Society publications, v. 10, p. 87-112, 1918)
- A Southern educator: Mrs. Mary Humphreys Stamps. (In Century, v. 78, p. 271-76, June, 1909)
- Theo. Bentzon—Madame Th. Blanc. (In Harper's Bazar, v. 29, p. 666-67, August 8, 1896)

The Yturbide of New Orleans. (In Louisiana historical society publications, v. 9, p. 87-91, 1916.)

An old lady's memory. (In Holmes Store Service, v. [—] p. 9-14, April, 1917)

IV. *Drama.*

A splendid offer; a comedy for women. (In Drama, v. 16, p. 213-15, March, 1926)

A comedy of manners—a struggle between the new generation and the old.

V. *Translations.*

Translations of Consul-general Barrett's address. (In The Louisiana historical quarterly, v. 2, no. 3, p. [263]-67, July, 1919)

"Address of Hon. Charles Barrett, Consul-general of France, delivered in French before the Louisiana Historical Society, in the Cabildo, December 20, 1918. Translation by Miss Grace King."

VI. *Literary Criticisms.*

Abstracts by William Price of state papers preserved in the Louisiana Historical Society, with notes. (In The Louisiana Historical Quarterly, v. 1, no. 1, p. 10, January, 1917.)
A review of the abstracts of the judicial records of the French Regime in Louisiana, to be published in the following issues of the Louisiana Historical Quarterly.

. . . "Colonie de la Louisiane, journal historique, contenant ce qui s'est passe de plus remarquable au fort Louis, a la Nouvelle Orleans, et les Nouvelles et avis qu'on a recus des differents postes de la colonie. Commence par le Sieur Bougues, Secretaire du conseil le 5 avril, 1722." (In The Louisiana historical society publications, v. 1, pt. 2, p. 46-7, 1895)

A review of an old Ms. which is probably "The original duplicate of one of the regular official cahiers or reports submitted by the Secretary of the Council of the Colony of Louisiana to the Ministry Marine."

The commerce of Louisiana during the French regime, 1699-1763, by N. M. Miller Surrey, Ph. D., Columbia University. (In The Louisiana historical quarterly, v. 5, no. 1, p. [19]-33, January, 1922)

A somewhat lengthy review of this book about the very early commerce of Louisiana.

A Southern view. (In Outlook, v. 72, p. 786-87, December 6, 1902)

A brief article of American literature and a list of ten books which Miss King considers as being representative.

. . . Varina Howell, wife of Jefferson Davis, by Eron Rowland. (In *The Louisiana historical quarterly*, v. 11, no. 3, p. [466]-67, July, 1928)

A review of the biography of Varina Howell.

VII. *Introductions, Prefaces, Memorials, Etc.*

Foreword. (In Genthe, Arnold. *Impressions of old New Orleans*, N. Y., Doran [c1926] p. 13-19)

[Introduction] (In Burton, S. C. *New Orleans by an etcher*), n.d. n.p.

The introduction to this series of charming etchings was written by Miss King.

Introduction. (In *The Louisiana historical society publications*, v. 10, [5]-6, 1917)

The introduction written by Miss King for the last issue of *The Louisiana historical society publications*, was a survey of the work of the year just passed.

Introduction. (In *The Louisiana historical society publications*, v. 9, p. [5], 1916)

A survey of the work done by the Society in 1916.

Introduction: Notes bibliographiques et raisonnés sur les principaux ouvrages publiés sur La Floride et l'ancienne Louisiane . . . by A. L. Boimare. (In *The Louisiana historical quarterly*, v. 1, no. 2, p. [9]-75, September, 1917)

A catalogue of early colonial works and histories which had been compiled sixty years previous to this publication which Miss King edited and for which she wrote the introduction.

Introduction: Records of the Superior council of Louisiana.

(In *The Louisiana historical quarterly*, v. 2, no. 1, p. [104], January, 1919)

Introduction to the above written by Miss King.

[Introductory remarks on the article "Black Boxes".] (In *The Louisiana historical society publications*, v. 8, p. [5], 1914-15)

The "Black Boxes" were a part of the Louisiana archives which Miss King felt, for a long time, should be published. She finally succeeded in getting this done and wrote the introduction to the series of articles which appeared in the *Louisiana historical society publications*.

John Dymond, editor *Louisiana historical quarterly*, 1917-1922. (In *The Louisiana historical quarterly*, v. 5, no. 2, p. [188]-91, April, 1922)

A memorial to the deceased editor of the Louisiana historical quarterly, written and presented to the Society by W. O. Hart, Grace King, E. A. Parsons.

Mrs. William Preston Johnston . . . [pt. 3] (In the Louisiana historical quarterly, v. 9, no. 2, p. 284-285, April, 1926)

Tributes paid by the Quarante Club of New Orleans to Mrs. Johnston. Miss King wrote the third tribute reproduced in the Louisiana historical quarterly.

Preface [to the Louisiana historical society publications, v. 7, 1913-14] In The Louisiana historical society publications, v. 7, p. 5-10, 1913-14)

A few introductory remarks on some of the main articles in the volume, and a brief resume of the Society since 1895.

VIII. *Minutes of the Louisiana Historical Society.*

Synopsis of the business transacted in the meetings of the Louisiana Historical Society, 1900-1901. (In The Louisiana historical society publications, v. 2, pt. 4, p. [3]-18, December, 1901)

[Minutes for the monthly meetings of the Louisiana Historical Society, February, 1915-June, 1915.] (In The Louisiana historical society publications, v. 8, p. 21-3; 23-6; 26-8; 35-8; 38-9, 1914-1915)

[Minutes of the monthly meetings of the Louisiana Historical Society, February, 1916-January, 1917.] (In The Louisiana historical society publications, v. 9, p. 7-8; 24-6; 27-8; 54-5; 55-6; 74-5; 86-7; 91-2; 95-7, 1916)

[Minutes of the monthly meetings of the Louisiana Historical Society, March, 1917-December, 1917.] (In The Louisiana historical society publications, v. 10, p. 23-4; 24-5; 40-3; 45; 63-4; 67-8; 86-7; 113, 1917)

Report of the proceedings of the Louisiana Historical Society for 1918. (In The Louisiana historical quarterly, v. 2, no. 2, p. [217]-228, April, 1919)

Report of the proceedings of the Louisiana Historical Society from January, 1919 to May, 1920, inclusive. (In The Louisiana historical quarterly, v. 3, no. 3, p. [373]-375, July, 1920)

Report of the proceedings of the Louisiana Historical Society from June, 1920 to December, 1921, inclusive. (In The Louisiana historical quarterly, v. 5, no. 2, p. [208]-238, April, 1922)

Minutes of the meetings in 1922. (In *The Louisiana historical quarterly*, v. 6, no. 1, p. [164]-173, January, 1923)

Minutes of the meetings of the Louisiana Historical Society, 1923. (In *The Louisiana historical quarterly*, v. 7, no. 1, p. [128]-140, January, 1924)

WORKS ABOUT

I. *Criticisms and Biographical Sketches.*

Beer, William, comp.

List of writings of Grace King. (In *The Louisiana historical quarterly*, v. 6, no. 3, p. 378-79, July, 1923)

Cocks, Reginald S.

The fiction of Grace King. (In *The Louisiana historical quarterly*, v. 6, no. 3, p. 353-39, July, 1923)

Coleman, Charles W.

Grace King. (In *The Book news*, v. 12, p. 312, April, 1894)

With portrait.

Coleman, Charles. W.

[Grace King.] (In *Harper's New monthly magazine*, v. 74, p. 840-41, May 1887)

With portrait.

Dart, Henry Plauche.

Death of Grace King. (In *The Louisiana historical quarterly*, v. 15, no. 2, p. [330] April, 1932)

Dart, Henry Plauche.

Grace King; tribute of the Louisiana Historical Society. (In *the Louisiana historical quarterly*, v. 6, no. 3, p. [345]-47, July, 1923)

With portrait.

Dart, Henry Plauche.

The ideals of Grace King. (In *The Louisiana historical quarterly*, v. 15, no. 2, p. [339]-44, April, 1932)

Dart, Henry Plauche.

Miss King's historical works. (In *The Louisiana historical quarterly*, v. 6, no. 3, p. 347-53, July, 1923)

Davis, Mrs. Mollie Evelyn Moore.

Grace King. (In *Louisiana state chatauqua. Proceedings of a round table on Louisiana authors, 1893.* p. 7-9.)

DeMeril, Alexander Nicolas.

[Miss Grace King.] (In his *The Literature of the Louisiana territory*. St. Louis, The St. Louis News Co., 1904. p. 313-14)

Dondore, Dorothy Anne.

[Grace King.] (In her *The prairie and the making of middle America*. Cedar Rapids, Ia., The Torch press, 1926. p. 359-61)

Durno, A. G.

Grace Elizabeth King. (In Rightor, Henry, *Standard history of New Orleans, Louisiana*. Chicago, Lewis publishing co., 1900. p. 378)

Faust, Marie Elisabeth.

In *Memoriam: Grace King*. (In *The Bookman*, v. 75, p. 360-61, August 1932)
With portrait.

Fortier, Alcee.

[Grace King.] (In his *Louisiana studies*. New Orleans, Hansell [c1894] p. 116-17)

Fortier, Alcee.

King, Grace Elizabeth. (In his *Louisiana*. Atlanta, Southern historical association, 1909, p. 643.)

Fortier, Alcee.

King, Grace Elizabeth. (In his *Louisiana*. Century historical association, 1914, v. 1, p. 615-16)

Fortier, Alcee.

Louisiana's contribution to the literature of the United States. (In *The South in the building of a nation*. Richmond, Va., Southern historical publication society [c1909] v. 8, p. 314-25)

The work of Miss Grace King is mentioned in this article, as being outstanding.

Fortier, Edward J.

Grace Elizabeth King. (In *Cambridge history of American literature*. N. Y., Putnam [c1921] v. 4, p. 597)

Gilmer, Mrs. E. M.

Dorothy Dix talks on Miss King. (In *The Louisiana historical quarterly*, v. 6, no. 3, p. 359-62, July, 1923)
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STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION,
ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF MARCH 3, 1933, of the
Louisiana Historical Quarterly, published quarterly at New Orleans, for
October, 1934.

State of Louisiana, Parish of Orleans, ss.

Before me, Henry G. Bloch, Notary Public, in and for the State and parish aforesaid, personally appeared E. A. Parsons, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the President of Louisiana Historical Society, publisher of The Louisiana Historical Quarterly and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in Section 411, Postal Laws and Regulations, to-wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Publisher, The Louisiana Historical Society, The Cabildo, New Orleans, La.; Editor, Henry P. Dart (deceased, D. September 27, 1934), Managing Editor, None; Business Manager, None.

2. That the owner is: The Louisiana Historical Society, whose officers are: E. A. Parsons, President; Andre Lafargue, First Vice-President; James Wilkinson, Second Vice-President; Frank H. Waddill, Third Vice-President; J. Fair Hardin, Vice-President for North La.; Wm. A. Read, Vice-President for South La.; Wm. Boizelle, Recording Secretary; Hy. M. Gill, Corresponding Secretary; J. B. Donnes, Treasurer.

(Signed) E. A. PARSONS, President.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 12th day of October, 1934.

(Seal) HENRY G. BLOCH, Notary Public.

(My commission expires at my death.)

